

# U.S. Jets Hit Guns Firing on 'Safe' Area As UN Carries Out Warning to Serbs

## 2 F-16s Answer Appeal By Allied Ground Troops

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — Two U.S. Air Force jets under NATO command bombed positions in the Muslim enclave of Gorazde in Bosnia on Sunday after Bosnian Serb forces broke through government defenses and threatened to overrun the city.

It was the first time since Bosnia's war began two years ago that the United Nations carried through on threats of air strikes on ground positions.

"UN peacekeeping forces requested close air support," according to U.S. military officials. "Two U.S. Air Force F-16s responded."

The planes took off from the U.S. air base in Aviano, northern Italy.

Sir Michael Rose, the British lieutenant general who commands UN forces in Bosnia, said Sunday he called in the air strike on forces after a Bosnian Serb tank began firing directly into the town of Gorazde.

The two U.S. jets, diving out of low cloud cover, bombed a Serbian artillery position targeting Gorazde and Serbian shelling of the town, which had escalated dramatically through the day, ceased 18 minutes later, General Rose said.

The UN secretary-general, Boutros Boutros Ghali, said that planes would strike again if necessary to protect UN-designated "safe havens."

President Bill Clinton also warned that the U.S. remained prepared to act again if requested to do so and said the air strike "was a clear signal" to the Serbs of UN and U.S. resolve.

Hours earlier, ignoring warnings by the United Nations to stop their advance, Bosnian Serb soldiers swarmed into Gorazde's southern suburbs, where there was heavy sniper fire and scenes of civilian panic.

The Bosnian Serb forces on Sunday acknowledged the air strikes and called them an act of aggression.

"By this act, NATO carried out a clear act of aggression against Serbian people," the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug quoted a Bosnian Serb source as saying. The source accused NATO of "striking at civilian targets far from the front line."

The Bosnian Serb Army later said the strike caused some civilian casualties, Tanjug reported. It quoted the deputy chief of the Bosnian Serb Army, General Milan Gvero, as saying NATO planes fired four missiles at civilian targets.

There was no immediate reaction from the Bosnian Muslim political leadership or from the Muslim-led Bosnian government, which had long called for air strikes by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization against the Serbs. UN relief officials said that the United Nations was temporarily suspending aid convoys through Serbian-held areas. They said the suspension would take effect on Monday but did not say how long it would last.

UN officials in Sarajevo said two Serbian tanks were hit in the NATO air attack. They said they did not know exactly what had

prompted the UN forces to call for the air support.

The request for the raid by General Rose had reportedly been approved by the civilian head of the UN Protection Force, Yasushi Akashi.

NATO has used the threat of air strikes to deter Serbian forces from attacking UN-declared safe havens in Bosnia. The threat was a factor in forcing the Serbs to withdraw their guns from Sarajevo in February.

It was only the second time in the history of the alliance that NATO forces had been involved in combat. The first engagement was ordered in February, when NATO aircraft downed four Serbian aircraft. But that action was carried out to enforce an air-exclusion zone the West has imposed over the former Yugoslav republic, rather than to deter a Serbian ground attack.

A spokeswoman for Mr. Boutros Ghali said Sunday that the secretary-general had not wavered on using air power.

The spokeswoman, Therese Gastaut, said: "As we have seen today, the secretary-general has not hesitated to use close air support and he would like to make it very clear that he will not hesitate to do so again to protect the UN-designated safe areas."

Gorazde, 55 kilometers (35 miles) south of Sarajevo, is one of the six safe areas for Bosnian Muslims established last year by the United Nations. But Serbs continued to besiege the city, as they have for most of the two-year war.

As the Serbs pushed closer to the city, hundreds of civilian refugees from outlying areas poured into Gorazde overnight Saturday, said Peter Kessler, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

Mr. Kessler said later that his agency, which has four staffers in Gorazde, reported the town was growing calmer on Sunday evening.

The fall of Gorazde would be a serious embarrassment for General Rose and his UN peacekeepers, who had minimized the extent of the Bosnian Serb offensive and had doubted if the Serbs intended to capture the city.

General Rose, who was concentrating on attempts to reach an overall cease-fire between Muslims and Serbs in Bosnia, changed tack on Sunday when he said the Serbs had been warned "in no uncertain terms" to halt their Gorazde offensive.

A UN military spokesman, Major Rob Annink, said the F-16s had dropped their bombs under the direction of a forward air controller. The United Nations has deployed ground-based controllers as part of its planning for air raids.

The statement said that assessments of the damage caused by the raids was under way and that the Bosnian Serbs had been warned to halt their attack on Gorazde.

A UN source in Belgrade said there had been two air strikes in the Gorazde area and that Bosnian Serbs responded with anti-aircraft fire. Shortly after the bombing runs, the intensity of

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An American couple embracing at Butare, southern Rwanda, after they were reunited while fleeing the country. The man had been held back in Kigali and left with a military unit.

## West Steps Up Pullout as Rwanda Fighting Abates

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

KIGALI, Rwanda — Fires burned on the outskirts of this devastated capital and hundreds of people looted aid warehouses on Sunday as fighting abated after three days of savage ebbs.

Western countries continued an emergency evacuation of their citizens.

Relief officials estimated that as many as 10,000 people had been killed in Kigali alone

in fighting that is the result of a struggle between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups.

About a dozen fires burned on the outskirts of the capital and the Red Cross said there was looting in the city. Radio France International said hundreds of people were involved, and that the stocks of the Red Cross and World Food Program had been plundered.

Belgium landed fresh troops at the Kigali

International Airport to help its UN peacekeeping contingent rescue 1,500 Belgian residents, the largest Western community in Rwanda and the foreign group most at risk in the tribal bloodbath.

Fears of an advance on the capital by 4,000 Tutsis of the Rwandan Patriotic Front were initially eased by a cease-fire agreement between the army and the rebels, a Belgian UN commander said Sunday.

"The two sides agreed this morning on a cease-fire and apart from sporadic shots it seems to be holding," Colonel Luc Marchal said in Kigali in an interview with Belgian television.

But the International Committee of the Red Cross said later that Rwandan army forces and rebels clashed on the outskirts of

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## With Japan's Political Shift, Economic Bets Are Off

By James Sterngold

New York Times Service

TOKYO — The economic odds in Japan have been grim for the past year, so it came as a relief when Yasushi Mieno, the governor of the Bank of Japan, cast off misgivings last week and stuck out his neck, declaring that the prospects for a recovery this year were brightening.

Businessmen had waited a long time to hear that, but their joy was short-lived.

Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa's startling announcement on Friday that he was resigning because of a financial scandal has left economists fretting that a sustained period of political turbulence could abort what even optimists expected to be only a fragile recovery.

The resignation itself may not have killed the recovery,

economists said, but it did great damage to the public's confidence in the economy's health. It also means that in the coming weeks, economists are likely to be looking more at the scramble for power in the parliament than at their computer projections for signs of the economy's direction.

"Never in recent memory has the state of the economy been

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so intertwined with the political situation," said Tsutomu Tanaka, deputy minister of the Economic Planning Agency. "But if the bright signs were solid, they wouldn't be so affected by politics."

Added Kotosaku Inaba, chairman of the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry: "We were just about to see the light

in the dark tunnel, but Hosokawa's resignation has created uncertainty over the economic outlook. The political disorder will have a negative impact on Japanese industry, and political leaders need to fix the situation as soon as possible."

Most forecasters have been saying that the economy will probably grow slightly less than 1 percent this year, a modest improvement over the annual 0.1 percent growth rate in 1993.

At this point, analysts have little more than instinct to go on, because the battle to choose a successor to Mr. Hosokawa is far from over and the differences in economic policy between the various candidates are not great. But the stock market on Friday made what many analysts said was a reasonable assessment of the risks.

As the news hit the market in the early afternoon, prices

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## China's Social Rifts Nurture Dissidents

By Lena H. Sun

Washington Post Service

BENGBU, China — Without warning or explanation, a police bulldozer plowed into an apartment complex here and demolished several brick-and-plaster homes. Residents watched helplessly as the walls turned into rubble.

"They paid bribes to the police and we didn't," said one young woman, angrily jerking her head at the homes left untouched.

A pro-democracy activist, Zhang Lin, 31, who had been observing from the sidelines, intervened and asked her: "Is the government right to 'tear down your homes' if the police

took bribes, is this the kind of government we should have?"

The woman did not answer. But for Mr. Zhang, simply raising the question was an important victory. Later that week, he would do the same with workers unhappy over low wages and with peasants in neighboring villages who live in fear of local Communist Party bosses who they say beat and bully them.

For activists like Mr. Zhang, the widening rifts in Chinese society are becoming a fertile breeding ground for the democracy movement.

"The democracy movement is at a crossroads right now," he said. "We plan to use our experi-

ences to lead peasants and workers. That is the best way for us to develop the movement."

The focus by some dissidents on specific grievances is a change from the abstract calls for democracy that characterized the student-led Tiananmen Square movement crushed by the army in Beijing on June 4, 1989. For the Communist Party, which has for decades called itself the dictatorship of the proletariat, this focus on workers and peasants strikes at the heart of its grip on power.

Some dissidents even say that the urban and rural discontent is so deep that only a violent

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## Clinton Insists That Serbs Cease Attacks on Gorazde

By Paul F. Horvitz

International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton demanded Sunday that Serbian forces halt their attacks and pull back from the besieged Muslim city of Gorazde, saying he was ready to participate in further NATO air strikes if peace talks do not resume in Bosnia.

Mr. Clinton made his comments in a prepared statement issued from the White House lawn a few hours after U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers based in Italy struck Serbian positions near Gorazde in response to a UN call for air support.

"The Serbs should cease their attacks on Gorazde and should pull back," Mr. Clinton said, urging that talks on a sustained cease-fire be resumed.

The United States must be prepared to use its air power again, he said, while cautioning that he did not know if that would be necessary.

"This is a clear expression of the will of NATO and the will of the United Nations," the president said, "and it's a clear call to the Serbs to pull back from Gorazde and resume the negotiations."

The first use of U.S. air power to strike ground targets in Bosnia opened a new and perhaps decisive phase in the protracted Bosnian endgame. It also appeared to give at least temporary credence to Washington's on-again, off-again threats to use force.

The action by NATO came after a week of policy zigzags by the Clinton administration, shifts that created considerable confusion about U.S. resolve.

By week's end, two leading foreign policy spokesmen for Mr. Clinton, including Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, felt it necessary to publicly clarify U.S. intentions and erase the impression left by senior Pentagon officials that the United States wanted no part of the battle for Gorazde.

Mr. Clinton's statement Sunday, while not committing the United States to a broad role, left no doubt that U.S. air power would be available if similar, narrowly defined attacks were requested in the future.

"We were reticent," the president said. "The United Nations made it absolutely clear

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## Missing the Missiles: South Dakotans Have That Empty Feeling

By John F. Harris

Washington Post Service

UNION CENTER, South Dakota — Folks here lived for decades knowing that the Cold War might end with a nuclear doomsday in their own backyards. What happened instead was not a bang, but a dull thud.

Silo H-10, which for 30 years held a missile whose purpose was to rain destruction on what was the Soviet Union, was itself destroyed Thursday with 500 pounds of conventional explosives set off by its owner, the U.S. Air Force.

There was a muffled roar, and a mound of dirt sprang into the sky, a highly symbolic moment for a place where nuclear brinkmanship once was a local specialty. Earlier in the day, the last of 150 Minuteman-2 missiles that had peckmarked 13,000 square miles (33,500 square kilometers) of South Dakota's high plains was pulled from the earth under terms of the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Talks with the former Soviet Union.

Yet, in the shadow of the Black Hills, there is a final Cold War irony: Many people miss the missiles.

"I kind of hate to see 'em go," said Darrell Steffes, a rancher, in a widely echoed sentiment. "I can't see where they caused a damn bit of harm, and I think they contributed to our security. And they've sure put a lot of money into the economy."

The silo that was blown up Thursday was surrounded by Mr. Steffes's ranch. Most of the one-acre silo sites run by Ellsworth Air Force Base's soon-to-be inactivated 44th Missile Wing are similarly situated on family farms.

This mix of Norman Rockwell settings with Dr. Strangelove horrors may strike outsiders as surreal. But locals long ago stopped thinking it was spooky to have an instrument of mass annihilation buried in the pasture.

"How much do people in Washington, D.C., worry about living near the 'Black Box'?" asked Gene Williams, who also had a missile on his farm. He was referring to the nuclear codebook always within easy reach of the president

of the United States. "It's one of those things that you get used to and don't give it a second thought."

That attitude even seeped through to the people who worked on the missiles. "To me it's a regular 9-to-5 job," said Michael Kistler, a missile-maintenance man. "I don't see it as something used to kill."

It is easy to see how what was once haunting gradually became banal. Air force officials let visitors climb down into a silo and roam around as the last missile was being pulled. What greeted people was not an eerie, high-tech netherworld, but a strikingly pedestrian place.

Instead of dazzling gadgetry, there were pulleys, pipes and hoses, along with a clunky computer that was protected by a combination lock and looked a bit like a bank safe. Air force officials said it held a 64K memory, far less power than the typical laptop computer.

"It's like a Model T — it still gets you where you want to go," said an Ellsworth spokesman, Kevin Krejcar.

The Minuteman-2 can deliver a bomb to a target 6,000 miles (about 10,000 kilometers) away in about 30 minutes.

But it has been superseded by other missiles in the U.S. arsenal, which was one reason former President George Bush agreed three years ago to scrap it.

The stand-down has been a gradual process; the nuclear warheads were taken off the missiles in late 1992.

While the missiles are gone from South Dakota, several dozen are still to be removed from Whiteman Air Force Base in Missouri; Minuteman-2 missiles remaining at Malmstrom Air Force Base in Montana will be converted into more modern Minuteman-3 versions.

The air force will retain plenty of ballistic-missile power. There are 500 Minuteman-3 and 50 Peacekeeper missiles at bases in North Dakota and Wyoming.

Even these, however, are going into a relaxed posture. Although the Minuteman-3 holds three warheads and the Peacekeeper holds 10, over the next several years both are to be revamped to hold a single warhead each. According to the air force, in peacetime the missiles will be aimed toward the ocean.

### Kiosk

#### Menem Party Beaten In Buenos Aires Vote

BUENOS AIRES (Reuters) — A leftist coalition trounced the government of President Carlos Saul Menem in Buenos Aires on Sunday in elections for an assembly that will reform the Argentine constitution, a senior official said.

Exit polls showed the outcome in the capital, which does not affect a nationwide victory for Mr. Menem's Peronists, as giving the leftist Broad Front a lead of 10 percentage points or more, the official said.

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# On U.S. 'Campaign,' Kohl Challenger Courts Clinton

By Craig R. Whitney  
New York Times Service

BONN — Rudolf Scharping, the Social Democratic challenger to Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Germany's elections on Oct. 16, is taking his campaign to the United States this week, hoping to persuade President Bill Clinton and other leaders that he will be as reliable an ally as Mr. Kohl.

"There are some people in Germany who believe that NATO could be replaced by something else," he said before his departure, distancing himself from more radical members of his party who have suggested replacing the alliance with the 52-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

"There are others, like the Green Party, who believe NATO can be disbanded," he said, referring to the environmentalist grouping that many German commentators speculate he would have to rely on for support in parliament if he won.

"I think both views are wrong," Mr. Scharping said. "We want NATO, and we understand it to be more

than just a defense alliance. It's also accomplished a great deal politically."

One of its achievements, he believes from his experience as governor of the state of Rhineland-Palatinate, where 150,000 U.S. soldiers and their families were stationed at the height of the Cold War, is a gradual reconciliation between Germans and Americans.

Mr. Scharping, 46, was elected leader of the Social Democratic Party in June, and has concentrated on restoring the centrist image it had when it last held power, under Chancellors Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt, more than a decade ago.

Mr. Kohl's Christian Democrats say Mr. Scharping will be unable to escape the influence of his left wing, which since Mr. Schmidt was deposed in 1982 advocated accommodation with the Communists in Eastern Europe and distanced itself from U.S. military policies.

Although Mr. Scharping got into trouble last month for botching an explanation of a campaign pledge to impose a 10 percent tax surcharge on higher incomes (above \$35,000, not \$30,000 as he said), Mr. Kohl said

last week that his party would impose a 7.5 percent surcharge on all taxpayers next year for as long as it took to get the formerly Communist eastern sections of the country into decent economic shape.

The Social Democrats lead the Christian Democrats by about five percentage points in public opinion polls, but Mr. Kohl dismissed that as irrelevant six months before the elections.

Mr. Scharping is scheduled to see Mr. Clinton in the White House on Tuesday, and said he wanted to discuss such things as the economic policies both men want to stimulate growth, create jobs and reduce budget deficits on both sides of the Atlantic.

During his talks with other officials and business representatives in New York City, Mr. Scharping also expects to be questioned about his party's opposition to German military participation in United Nations peacekeeping missions that could involve the risk of combat.

The Social Democrats challenged Mr. Kohl's decision to send 1,500 German soldiers to Somalia last year, and also argued that the 1949 German Constitu-

tion barred participation in military enforcement of the naval and air blockades around Bosnia. The German constitutional court is expected to rule on the issue this summer.

Mr. Scharping said that he was for German participation in UN activities if they were constitutional and parliament approved. He added: "These soldiers must have the right to defend themselves and to carry out their mission. I am also for Germany's taking part in blockade actions, and if need be in their military enforcement. That describes everything the United Nations has done in recent years and will realistically be able to do in the near future."

What actions the world will realistically welcome from Germany is another question, Mr. Scharping is aware of the burden of German history on his generation.

He believes that "reconciliation is the secret of reconciliation," as he put it, and also the best way of combating evils like the recent rise of neo-Nazi radicals in his country.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Mitterrand Opens 1944 Observances

THONES, France (Reuters) — President François Mitterrand, launching 50th anniversary commemorations of the liberation of France, paid tribute Sunday to young Resistance fighters killed on the eve of D-Day.

Mr. Mitterrand led 3,000 survivors and families of the fallen in a ceremony commemorating members of the Maquis, or partisan bands, who faced German mountain troops and French collaborators in a battle on the Alpine Plateau des Glières in March 1944. The fighting was the first major open battle by the Resistance against the occupiers and took place just weeks before the June 6 allied landings in Normandy.

"It was a tragedy which ended in blood and in horror," Mr. Mitterrand said of the heavy casualties suffered by the Maquisards and the local population, who endured reprisals by the Nazis and collaborationist Vichy forces.

### Zhirinovskiy Arrives in Strasbourg

PARIS (AP) — The Russian ultranationalist Vladimir V. Zhirinovskiy arrived Sunday in France after the government granted him a visa to attend the Council of Europe's parliamentary session in Strasbourg.

Mr. Zhirinovskiy's arrival was guarded by police. Jewish organizations called for a protest Monday in Strasbourg against the Russian lawmaker, whose extremist Liberal Democratic Party captured a large share of the vote in Russian parliamentary elections in December.

Mr. Zhirinovskiy was to attend the spring session of the Council of Europe's assembly meeting as part of an 18-member Russian parliamentary delegation. The visit was granted "for the city of Strasbourg only and for the duration of the parliament's session," said Catherine Colonna, a spokeswoman for the Foreign Ministry. She said that France's agreement with the Council of Europe obligated it to grant the visa, and added that Mr. Zhirinovskiy would not otherwise have been given a visa to visit France.

### Italian Federalist Outlines Demands

PONTIDA, Italy (Reuters) — Umberto Bossi, the leader of the federalist Northern League, on Sunday attached strict conditions to his party's entry into the next government and again raised the prospect of a breakaway by the North.

In a speech to thousands of supporters, Mr. Bossi demanded commitments to federalism and free-market economics in return for entering a government and set a six-month deadline for their implementation. Attempts to form a government have been blocked by quarrels between his group and the Forza Italia party of the media magnate Silvio Berlusconi and Christian Democracy's neofascists; the three made the Freedom Alliance that emerged triumphant in elections last month.

"Within the new government we want two specific mandates for the League's ministers," Mr. Bossi said, one "to write a new federalist constitution" and another "to write an anti-trust law like they have in America." He said the League would bring down the government and lead a northern breakaway if it did not get swift action.

### Christopher Warns North Korea

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher said Sunday that diplomatic efforts to get North Korea to allow international inspections of its nuclear sites could last another six months. But he warned North Korea not to use the time to develop its nuclear capability, saying that would change the situation.

Mr. Christopher, appearing on NBC's "Meet the Press," also said the United States would not rule out options — including preemptive strikes — if North Korea does not yield to international pressure.

"Well, I think that Secretary Perry's use of six months is not a bad period of time," Mr. Christopher said, referring to comments made last week by Defense Secretary William J. Perry. Mr. Perry said the United States would have to shift from diplomacy to stiffer actions in six months if the situation remained unchanged.

## Israel Ban on Arabs Could Last Months

### Replacing Workers a Problem

By Clyde Haberman  
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — Government ministers suggested strongly Sunday that a newly imposed ban on Palestinian entry into Israel could last weeks and perhaps even months, although some senior officials complained that the restrictions would deprive innocent people of their livelihood.

For most ministers, however, the potentially harmful impact on Palestinians took a distant second place to their main goal of reassuring Israelis about their personal security after several lethal attacks, most prominently a suicide car bombing by a West Bank Palestinian that killed 7 Israelis and wounded 44 others last week.

The most effective solution, the government says, is to keep Palestinians out. It is also a popular tactic among Israelis, for after serious terrorist attacks they tend to feel safer if there are no Arabs around, even though it also means there are fewer people to fill construction and farm jobs that Jews in this country usually shun.

The ban, in effect for the last three days, makes it illegal for the 1.8 million Palestinians from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip to be inside Israel, including tens of thousands of low-paid workers who normally enter each day. Officially, this scaling-off of

the territories is to last through this week and it will then be re-evaluated. Islamic radicals threaten new raids to mark Israel's Independence Day celebrations on Thursday.

It is not the first time that such prohibitions were ordered, and in the past they invariably were eased after a while. But leaving their weekly meeting Sunday, cabinet members said that this ban may be more than a quick fix.

"The closing is to be prolonged," Agriculture Minister Yacov Tzur said.

Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer said that he thought it would be retained even after Palestinian self-rule begins in Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho, something that is supposed to happen soon, although Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization are still trying to work out details in talks that resumed in Cairo on Sunday.

It seems extremely unlikely that the negotiators will meet their original target date of Wednesday for completing arrangements for an Israeli troop withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho.

As an added sign of Israel's intention to make this territorial closing a long one, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was quoted by other cabinet members as saying that he wanted to keep it intact until the



An Israeli soldier checking identity cards of Palestinian bus passengers Sunday at a roadblock on the Jerusalem-West Bank border.

self-rule agreement with the PLO had "proven itself."

Presumably, that means until there is a significant decline in Palestinian attacks on Israelis, and some officials said it could take many weeks and even months before that becomes clear.

Freeing itself from cheap Palestinian labor is no easy task for Israel, which had come to take it almost for granted after capturing the territories in the 1967 Middle East War. But since the Gulf War of 1991, it has gradually reduced the number of Palestinian workers allowed in, replacing them with a few thousand foreign laborers and with Israelis offered subsidies and other incentives to take jobs they had previously rejected.

A little over a year ago, just before another territorial closing after a wave of anti-Israel assaults, as many as 120,000 workers were permitted into Israel each day from the territories. That number had shrunk to 60,000 or less by early this year. And since the Hebron massacre on Feb. 25, when restrictions were reimposed, it has dwindled much further as the result of curfews and other restrictions.

With no one now allowed in, the cabinet agreed Sunday to give six-month visas to about 15,000 foreign construction workers, many expected to be from Romania and Bulgaria, and to 3,200 farm hands, mostly from Thailand and Turkey. That would increase the number of foreign laborers to over 35,000, an important change for Israel, which traditionally had rejected the "guest workers" com-

mon to Western Europe.

But separating the Israeli and Palestinian populations for long periods may not be easy, government officials and military commanders caution.

Deputy Defense Minister Mordechai Gur said this weekend that keeping Palestinians out of pre-1967 Israel in effect defines borders, something that the Israelis insist they do not want to do at this stage of their talks with the PLO.

Major General Matan Vilnai, commander of Israeli forces in Gaza, warned that confining Palestinians to the turbulent coastal strip increased the likelihood of anti-Israel disturbances there.

There also are questions about what exceptions will have to be

made — for example, Arab doctors and nurses from the West Bank who are now cut off from major hospitals in East Jerusalem. In addition, the closing keeps thousands of other Palestinians from East Jerusalem, which they regard as their religious, cultural and economic center, as well as the capital of their hoped-for statelet.

Some Palestinians denounced what they called collective punishment, and they received support from a few Israeli cabinet members, including Communications Minister Shulamit Aloni.

"They are human beings," she said. "They have families. They have to work. They have to feed their children. And we know that the terrorists are people who can come in even if we will have a closure."

## Russian and Ukrainian Navies in Stormy Waters

By Lee Hockstader  
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — An armed confrontation at sea between Russian and Ukrainian vessels has inflamed the already prickly relations between naval forces of the two nuclear-armed countries.

The incident apparently began late Friday in the Ukrainian port of Odessa, and ended after a daylong naval chase on the Black Sea when four Ukrainian fighter jets buzzed

the Russian fleet headquarters in Sevastopol on Saturday evening.

Although the two sides gave conflicting accounts, it seemed clear that the episode was by far the most serious yet between Russian and Ukrainian seamen, whose competing claims to the Black Sea Fleet in the last two years have led to mounting tensions and recriminations.

In Sevastopol, Russian and Ukrainian naval forces live side by side, their ships moored in the same harbor, in what must be one of the world's most disharmonious military "partnerships."

In incidents during the past year, sailors from the two forces have tied each other up and threatened each other with weapons. The Russians have chased one Ukrainian ship and prevented another one from docking by chopping its mooring ropes with an axe.

With the Ukrainians practically

bankrupt, there are frequent squabbles over finances. Add to that a constant rhetorical barrage by both sides and the result is an uneasy relationship deteriorating by the day.

At the heart of the matter is the tangled question of who "owns" the 300 mostly aging ships of the former Soviet Black Sea Fleet, a force of more historical than strategic importance, but nonetheless one that sits passively in both countries.

Much of Europe has lived in fear of Chernobyl since the 1986 accident there spread radioactive fallout over several countries. The official death toll from that accident is still listed as fewer than 100, but public health authorities in Ukraine and neighboring Belarus have said thousands more have died of diseases apparently related to the accident.

The International Atomic Energy Agency reported last month that it had found "numerous safety deficiencies" at Chernobyl. It also said the concrete sarcophagus built to encase the reactor that exploded in 1986 was deteriorating rapidly.

Mr. White confirmed that finding. "Even the plant manager told me during my visit yesterday he thought the sarcophagus was dangerous," he said at a news conference Saturday after returning to Washington.

During his meetings in Ukraine, he said, officials of several ministries said they favored shutting down Chernobyl as soon as possible, but nuclear industry officials insisted it had to be kept open at least till 1998 and could be operated safely.

Mr. White praised Vice Premier Valeri Shmarov for coming down on the side of closure and signing an agreement that Mr. White said "commits Ukraine to cease operating Chernobyl at the earliest possible time."

According to a text of the U.S.-Ukraine agreement distributed by the U.S. Energy Department, however, the closure agreement is less clear-cut than that.

It says: "The Ukrainian side agreed to cease operation of the Chernobyl plant once it reached a balance in the energy system and found resources to take the plant out of operation."

According to Mr. White, the Ukrainians want at least enough electricity to get them through next winter. But he said a joint study of available resources, to be completed in early summer, is expected to show Ukraine that conservation and alternative fuels can make up the difference.

Ukraine is highly nuclear-dependent, drawing about 40 percent of its electricity from nuclear power.

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## Ukraine Agrees 'in Principle' to Close Chernobyl Completely

By Thomas W. Lippman  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The government of Ukraine has agreed "in principle" to shut down the remaining nuclear power reactors at Chernobyl, site of the world's worst

commercial nuclear accident, the U.S. Energy Department has announced.

Closure of the infamous power station near Kiev is not imminent because Ukraine still needs the electricity it produces. But U.S. Deputy Energy Secretary William White said the agreement he signed Friday in Kiev "puts Ukraine unalterably on the fast track to shut down."

He refused to offer a timetable, but said it would be easier than Ukraine had previously thought to find substitutes for the power station's output. If nothing else, he said, U.S. experts have convinced the Ukrainians that simple conservation measures such as installation of electricity meters and modest price increases can cut electricity use enough to warrant rapid closure of the most danger-

ous of the reactors at Chernobyl.

Much of Europe has lived in fear of Chernobyl since the 1986 accident there spread radioactive fallout over several countries. The official death toll from that accident is still listed as fewer than 100, but public health authorities in Ukraine and neighboring Belarus have said thousands more have died of diseases apparently related to the accident.

The International Atomic Energy Agency reported last month that it had found "numerous safety deficiencies" at Chernobyl. It also said the concrete sarcophagus built to encase the reactor that exploded in 1986 was deteriorating rapidly.

Mr. White confirmed that finding. "Even the plant manager told

me during my visit yesterday he thought the sarcophagus was dangerous," he said at a news conference Saturday after returning to Washington.

During his meetings in Ukraine, he said, officials of several ministries said they favored shutting down Chernobyl as soon as possible, but nuclear industry officials insisted it had to be kept open at least till 1998 and could be operated safely.

Mr. White praised Vice Premier Valeri Shmarov for coming down on the side of closure and signing an agreement that Mr. White said "commits Ukraine to cease operating Chernobyl at the earliest possible time."

According to a text of the U.S.-Ukraine agreement distributed by the U.S. Energy Department, however, the closure agreement is less clear-cut than that.

It says: "The Ukrainian side agreed to cease operation of the Chernobyl plant once it reached a balance in the energy system and found resources to take the plant out of operation."

According to Mr. White, the Ukrainians want at least enough electricity to get them through next winter. But he said a joint study of available resources, to be completed in early summer, is expected to show Ukraine that conservation and alternative fuels can make up the difference.

Ukraine is highly nuclear-dependent, drawing about 40 percent of its electricity from nuclear power.

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# THE AMERICAS / MAKING A DESERT BLOOM

## POLITICAL NOTES

### Mitchell Weighs Senate Duties and Court

WASHINGTON — The Senate majority leader, George J. Mitchell, a leading candidate for a seat on the Supreme Court, said Sunday that he would have to consider leaving his Senate post if nominated to the high court.

"It would be a factor to be considered in any decision," Mr. Mitchell, Democrat of Maine, said when asked in a television interview if he might step down as majority leader.

"I am very strongly committed to enacting of a health-care reform bill this year as well as a crime bill and a welfare reform and campaign finance reform bill," he said.

"We have a very heavy and busy legislative agenda ahead and these are matters on which I have worked for many years and I want to play a role in bringing them to enactment and that will be a factor that I will consider at the time if it need be."

Mr. Mitchell said he had not been contacted by the White House about the seat being vacated by Justice Harry A. Blackmun and that he had personally made no decision.

But he indicated that he would be qualified for the job, saying that a good nominee should have knowledge of the law and the ability to reason carefully and that "experience in nonjudicial areas is probably a healthy thing."

Mr. Mitchell, 60, has served as a U.S. attorney, and for eight months as a federal judge, but has far less judicial experience than other potential candidates. He had previously announced that he would retire from the Senate at the end of this year.

The Senate minority leader, Bob Dole of Kansas, appearing on the same program, suggested that it would be better for Mr. Mitchell to step aside if he is nominated to the Supreme Court, saying it "gets a little sticky" overseeing the legislative agenda while preparing for confirmation hearings.

Mr. Mitchell was also asked about a legal technicality that bars members of Congress from offices for which they had voted pay raises. "I haven't really given it much thought," he said, noting that the White House had asked the Justice Department to provide a legal reading on the issue.



WHERE DO I SIGN? — Hillary Rodham Clinton reacting to a request for an autograph during a stopover in Muskogee, Oklahoma, to promote the administration's health-care plan.

### Clinton Activates Anti-Crime Lobby Push

WASHINGTON — President Clinton and senior members of his cabinet will put on a major push this week to lobby for the crime legislation that will be at the top of lawmakers' agendas when Congress returns from Easter recess.

Fresh off a week of pushing for health-care reform in town meetings around the nation, Mr. Clinton in his weekly Saturday radio address focused almost solely on crime. "In my travels this week, people made it clear to me they expect us here in Washington to take care of one job immediately: to confront the crime and violence that are tearing our communities apart," he said. "To underscore the administration's anti-crime efforts and rebut claims he has been slow to address the crime issue, Mr. Clinton will attend a rally at the Justice Department on Monday, and on Thursday will host mayors, community leaders, police officers and others who will talk about community policing and other issues."

At the same time, the White House will continue what it calls its "leadership days," in which 50 or more congressional offices send local leaders to the White House for briefings. Other administration officials also will emphasize the issue. Education Secretary Richard W. Riley, for example, is expected to give a major speech on crime in schools.

### Quote/Unquote

Paul Costello, who worked for a former first lady, Rosalynn Carter, on partisan criticism leveled against Hillary Rodham Clinton: "There's a built-in sexism: A spouse should not be interfering with the duties of her husband. The Republicans will not say that right out. But the Republicans believe they have a vulnerability, and they're going to exploit it."

## Thirsty Las Vegas Wants New Deal in the Water Game

By Timothy Egan  
New York Times Service

LAS VEGAS — The mirage that grew out of Bugsy Siegel's midcentury vision of showgirls and slot machines is now a metropolitan area of nearly 1 million people. But the fastest-growing American city, situated in a Mojave Desert valley that receives only four inches of rain a year, is running out of water.

So, rather than try to curb a growth rate of nearly 1,000 new residents a week, the water cars of southern Nevada have their eyes on the main artery of the American West, the Colorado River.

The river runs downhill from its source in the Rocky Mountains, but it also follows another cardinal rule: In the American West, water flows toward money and power.

Las Vegas has put forth an either-or proposition to its neighboring states: Increase the city's allocation from the Colorado River or the city will try to run more than 1,200 miles (about 2,000 kilometers) of

pipes into a network of underground basins, sucking water from more than 20,000 square miles of wilderness, ranch country and national parks.

And if the city cannot get the underground water, it would like to take a sizable amount from the Virgin River, which flows through Zion National Park in Utah, curls through the northwestern corner of Arizona and then runs into Nevada before emptying into the Colorado.

Essentially, Las Vegas is trying to change what is known as the law of the river, which is basically a seven-state pact that determines how much of the Colorado's water courses through the lives of nearly 30 million Westerners.

To ranchers upstream from Las Vegas and desert dwellers downstream, this "law" is sacred. But when the pact was put together in the 1920s, no one imagined that the desert state of Nevada, one of the hottest places on earth, could support a booming metropolis, a place made habitable by the invention of air conditioning and the siphoning of the Colorado River.

"You can't expect that this community, all these new people and all these babies and these families, are going to just go away," said Patricia Mulroy, general manager of the Southern Nevada Water Authority, the water agency for the Las Vegas metropolitan area.

"The old institutions of the West have got to change." Still, there is a minority in Las Vegas who see water as a way to rein in the explosive growth that is transforming their city. In addition, thousands of people have filed complaints against the groundwater plan and the proposed Virgin River dam, both of which could face court challenges and federal opposition.

Critics of Las Vegas's plans say that giving the city more water would be like giving a compulsive gambler another roll of silver dollars.

In the last 10 years, housing developments with names like Mariner Cove have been built around artificial lakes dug into the Nevada sand. English lawns carpet new neighborhoods in a place where

summer temperatures routinely reach 110 degrees Fahrenheit (43 centigrade).

The latest additions to the Las Vegas Strip, the tourist mecca, include a replica of the Nile River, a "Grand Canyon" with white-water rides and a moat holding giant pirate ships.

Every day, Las Vegas uses more than 300 gallons (1,100 liters) of water per capita, nearly twice the national average and almost three times that of other arid cities like Los Angeles and Tucson, Arizona.

Water officials say the data are skewed by the heavy influx of tourists, more than 22 million people a year. But, in fact, most of the area's water does not go to hotels.

"We are one of the biggest water wasters in the United States," said James Deacon, a professor of environmental studies at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas. "The main reason is because we've tried to put an Eastern landscape in the middle of the desert. This makes it extremely hard for us to ask for more water from the Colorado River."

## 'Defendant as Victim' Strategy Palls

### Survey Shows Americans Think Jurors Are Being Duped

NEW YORK — A majority of Americans believe that the portrayal of defendants as victims in the Bobbitt and Menendez brother cases has gotten out of hand, according to a new survey.

The findings are contained in a poll published in the current issue of the National Law Journal. The survey of 800 people nationwide was conducted last month by Penn and Schoen Associates Inc.

The study showed that 59 percent of the respondents believe the "defendant as victim" strategy is being overused, while 30 percent instead say that many people legitimately commit crimes as a result of some suffering they have endured.

According to the poll, 51 percent said that jurors are being duped when they take into account all of the circumstances of the accused person and his or her life. On the other hand, one-third feel that jurors are doing a better job of administering justice by doing so.

"In theory, Americans are sick of the kind of 'excuse-

defense lawyers are advancing in the courtroom today," the journal reported.

Of the poll respondents, 52 percent said they would have convicted Lorena Bobbitt of maliciously wounding her husband by cutting off his penis. Of those, 62 percent were men and 43 percent were women. Mrs. Bobbitt was acquitted after a jury in Manassas, Virginia, found she was temporarily insane.

In the Menendez case in Los Angeles, which the judge declared a mistrial when the jury was unable to agree, 68 percent of the respondents said they would have found the brothers guilty of murdering their parents.

The Menendez brothers, Erik, 23, and Lyle, 26, claimed they were driven to killing their wealthy parents by years of abuse.

A vast majority of poll respondents, 89 percent, said they believed the most compelling argument to excuse someone for a serious crime was a mother protecting her children from a physically abusive father.

## Away From Politics

• A firmer tomato is likely to be the first genetically engineered food for direct human consumption to be approved by the U.S. government now that a federal panel has cleared the way. Approval of a tomato that can ripen longer on the vine before being picked for shipment is probable within 90 days, according to Dr. David A. Kessler, the commissioner of food and drugs.

• Occasional use of cocaine, marijuana and other drugs is no great threat to health, and the drugs are relatively easy to obtain, according to 54 percent of youths from 12 to 17 polled by the U.S. Public Health Service. Donna E. Shalala, secretary of health, called the findings "alarming."

• A man charged with serving in a Nazi unit that killed Jews and others in Latvia during World War II has been deported to Australia, the U.S. Justice Department announced. Konrad Kales, 80, of Winnetka, Illinois, and St. Petersburg, Florida, had obtained Australian citizenship in the 1950s.

• The Woodstock 25th anniversary concert is a go for Aug. 13-14, with 250,000 people expected. After months of wrangling over money matters, sanitation, environmental impact and cleanup, authorities in Saugerties, New York, finally approved the Woodstock Music and Art Fair '94.

## Earth View: Shuttle Tests New Radar

### CAPE CANAVERAL, Florida

— Six astronauts have set out on a space shuttle mission to test an advanced radar technology that may enable people to manage the environment of their home planet better in the future — and perhaps catch some tantalizing glimpses of life in the past.

The shuttle Endeavour, carrying a \$366 million Space Radar Laboratory, went into orbit Saturday.

On the time-of-flight, the astronauts are to put the Endeavour through 460 maneuvers, more than on any previous mission, to point the radar at a variety of landscapes and seascapes. Scientists want to see how well the technology can map different terrains and distinguish between natural and human-induced environmental changes.

The mission's primary radar targets include mountains in Europe and South America, ocean currents and wetlands, forests, farmlands and deserts. By penetrating the dry sands, the radar may be able to chart the former course of the Nile River in antiquity, survey a buried "lost city" on the Arabian Peninsula and discover ruins along the old Silk Road in Western China.

Diane L. Evans, a geologist and the project's chief scientist at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, said the system should provide a detailed "look at the planet in a way that's never before been possible."

## Mrs. Clinton's Futures Adviser Placed Her Trades

By Sharon LaFraniere  
and Charles R. Babcock  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The White House has acknowledged that James B. Blair, an Arkansas lawyer, placed most of the orders for the trades of cattle futures that earned Hillary Rodham Clinton nearly \$100,000 profit in the late 1970s.

A White House official continued to maintain that Mrs. Clinton made her own decisions on how to trade. But he said she had discussed them with Mr. Blair, who would then pass an order on to the broker, even though the broker was only supposed to take orders from Mrs. Clinton.

Previously, the White House described Mr. Blair as simply an important adviser but had not explained how Mrs. Clinton carried out her trading.

During most of the 10 months Mrs. Clinton traded cattle futures, Mr. Blair was outside counsel for Tyson Foods Co., Arkansas' biggest employer, and she was the governor's wife. Although she made a huge profit on her \$1,000 investment, she was not a passionate trader who kept up with every move of the market, Mr. Blair said.

According to his testimony in three lawsuits against the commodity brokerage firm of Ray E. Friedman & Co., known as Refco, Mr. Blair kept a special computer devoted to analyzing and charting market averages over four-day, nine-day and 18-day periods. He had a "quote" machine in the back of his desk that enabled him to watch the market "tick by tick."

Mr. Blair also was privy to a daily 2:30 P.M. conference call broadcast over the speaker phone at Refco's office in Springfield, Arkansas. On the line were major figures in the cattle business: buyers, feedlot operators, a Chicago pit trader, Refco brokers and sometimes the Refco president, Thomas Dittmer.

Mr. Blair had good reason to keep up. He risked huge sums, making as much as \$315,000 in one day and hoping to clear \$2 million the next, he testified. He claimed in a lawsuit against Refco that his family ultimately lost \$15 million. Like other customers, Mr. Blair claimed that Mr. Dittmer had tricked his brokers into making trades that manipulated cattle prices for his own benefit, allegations that Mr. Dittmer has denied.

According to the White House official, Mr. Blair passed on trade orders for about a dozen other people besides Mrs. Clinton, including members of his family. The fact that he was allowed to do so reflects the loose attitude of the Springfield office and its head broker, Robert L. (Red) Bone, about the trading rules.

Mr. Bone was disciplined for violations three times — in 1977, 1979 and 1981 — by the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

Because Mrs. Clinton was the only one authorized to trade her account, Mr. Bone technically violated trading regulations by taking her orders from Mr. Blair, according to Leo Melamed, former chairman of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange. Mr. Melamed reviewed Mrs. Clinton's trading records at the request of the White House.

That Mrs. Clinton "did her own trading" in the commodities markets in the 1970s, but it stopped short of denying that an adviser placed most of the orders, Reuters reported from Washington.

A White House official, asked whether Mr. Blair placed most of Mrs. Clinton's orders, said: "I'm not denying it. I'm not saying he didn't or he did."

"Mrs. Clinton did her own trading," the official added. "If there was any type of technical violation in this trading process, it was done by the broker."

### White House Response

The White House said Sunday

## Navy Going by the Book on Sexual Harassment

By Eric Schmitt  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — With its penchant for by-the-book precision, the military has manuals for just about everything. Now, the U.S. Navy has a new manual on how to recognize, prevent and deal with sexual harassment.

Titled "Commander's Handbook — A Tool Kit for Prevention of Sexual Harassment," the manual defines the problem, tells how to handle complaints and holds commanders responsible for eliminating harassment. The navy will distribute the manuals by early fall.

Much of the 64-page handbook, with lengthy attachments and sample cases, is a summary of orders and memorandums navy leaders have issued since the bawdy weekend of the Tailhook convention of naval aviators in Las Vegas in 1991.

Using these new orders and regulations, the navy has dismissed 89 officers and sailors for sexual harassment since 1992. But even the navy acknowledges that the results have been mixed at best.

Officials are hoping that the mere existence of the manual will be regarded as a sign of seriousness.

But here the military faces an issue etched in shades of gray, demanding subjective judgments and interpretations. "When I go to the field, a lot of people still don't know what we mean by sexual harassment," said Rear Admiral Paul E. Tobin Jr., head of the navy's office for what it describes as personal readiness and

community support. "We're trying to make sure they know where the line is."

Senior navy officials say the release of the manual coincides with increased sensitivity training and stricter punishment for offenders to hammer home the service's "zero-tolerance" message. But lawmakers and independent experts say the tolerance has not yet dropped that far in practice.

"The navy has taken some positive action, but it really needs to look more at enforcing these new rules," said Wilma D. Powell, chairman of the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services, an independent advisory panel to the secretary of defense. "You can have all sorts of rules and regulations," she said, "but if they're not enforced, it's a waste."

## BOOKS

### WHAT THEY'RE READING

• Christopher Irwin, chief executive of BBC World Service Television, is reading "Managing Brand Equity: Capitalizing on the Value of a Brand Name" by David Aaker on the train home and "The Night Manager" by John Le Carré before bed.

"The first book gives me good jargon to pin on ideas I have in the back of my mind. The Le Carré book is intense and complex but very compelling." (Erik Ipsen, IHT)

She offers three sorts of answers to account for how an ordinary human being becomes a "rescuer self," a sort of doppelgänger who allows "people to do things that—in retrospect — seem unbelievable." First, conditions have to be right. "First, case studies illustrate that only when an aware person, with feelings of responsibility, was in a situation that provided necessary resources was it possible to act." Yes, well. There is a yawning gap between such anodyne palaver and the insane sangfroid of a Polish teenager who single-handedly cared for 13 Jews at the behest of inner voices.

Second, motivations. There were those who rescued under the sign of morality. Others rescued because they were Judeophiles, either through personal connection or religious conviction; or because they were "concerned professionals," or because they were part of a resistance network. Again, true enough no doubt. But adding a belief in the duty of Christian charity does not go a long way toward explaining, for example, why the profoundly anti-Semitic Father Falowski risked his life to take in a skeletal, lice-infested Jewish boy shivering in the cold.

Finally, we are offered psychoanalytic or social-psychological explanations. Set beside the stories of rescue and suffering, these are almost unbearably trite: Eighty-nine percent had an altruistic role model, or, "as children most rescuers felt not only loved but protected."

Fogelman has made a major contribution to Holocaust studies in collecting these accounts of conscience and courage, ranging from the less well-known stories to those of Oskar Schindler, Raoul Wallenberg and Miep Gies. But her social-psychologist self argues against the grain of her own evidence, which shows that any explanations she offers are hopeless. At this level, good is as banal as evil. And even if, it remains a profoundly unpredictable event. Most of us who have read Anne Frank's "Diary of a Young Girl" have wondered what we would have done in a similar situation, and we know ourselves at least as well as any psychologist might.

This is not to say that the acts of kindness and compassion recalled here cannot be explained but rather that the extraordinary stories in this book must be read each for itself. Goodness rests in particulars. Thus, plumbing the depths of an Alexander Roslan means understanding his story, not assimilating him into the platitudes of social conscience as we know it.

Tom Laqueur, who teaches cultural history at the University of California, Berkeley, wrote this for The Washington Post.

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## CONSCIENCE AND COURAGE: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust

By Eva Fogelman. 416 pages. \$24. Doubleday.

Reviewed by Tom Laqueur

MOVED by curiosity, Alexander Roslan sneaked into the Warsaw Ghetto early one morning before the night's harvest of dead, zemachted, fly-covered children's bodies had been removed. He was sickened by what he saw. He gave some bread to the living who desperately begged it from him, fully aware of the futility of his gesture. Some time later, Roslan, a Polish

black marketeer, told a friend that he would harbor a Jewish child, preferably not a boy whose circumcision would easily give him away. He ended up with Jacob Gutgold, whose Jewishness was writ large upon his face, never mind his private parts.

When a neighbor tipped off the Gestapo that the Roslans were harboring a Jew, Jacob spent seven hours in a kitchen cupboard while Alex's children made distracting noises and he entertained the Nazis with enough alcohol to make them neglect their duties. They returned. Had Jacob been found he would of course have been instantly shot and the entire Roslan family hanged in public as a warning to others. Alex transported Jacob to the family's

new, far less visible home outside of Warsaw in a borrowed-out couch over a moving van.

Over the strenuous objections of carded the heart king or unguarded diamonds, the grand slam was home.

NORTH  
10 7 2  
Q 8 2  
K Q 10 9 4  
A 3

WEST  
8 6  
K 9  
J 8 7 2  
A 3 7 2

EAST  
8 5 4  
Q 10 7 6 4  
A 3  
K 10 8 4

SOUTH (D)  
A K Q J 3  
A 5 3  
A 5  
K 6 5

North and South were vulnerable. The bidding:  
South West North East  
2 N.T. Pass 3 4 Pass  
3 4 Pass 4 N.T. Pass  
5 6 Pass 5 7 Pass  
6 4 Pass 6 7 Pass  
7 4 Pass Pass Pass

West led the spade eight.

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

IT is likely that two New Zealanders form the best young partnership in the world and are headed for international distinction. They are 21-year-old Ishmael Del'Monte, and 20-year-old Ashley Bach, who are known Down Under as "Ish" and "Ash".

They scored convincing victories in the main pair and team events at the Australian national championships at Surfer's Paradise on Queensland's Gold Coast. Del'Monte had achieved the same double a year earlier with a different partner.

They won the pairs title by an overwhelming margin and were aided by the disgraced deal. Few pairs would reach good seven-spade contract, which took sophisticated bidding following the opening two no-trump bid.



# Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

## Exporting Labor Standards

Labor standards are now on the agenda for future world trade talks, at the insistence of the United States. In terms of Washington politics, the Clinton administration is blowing a kiss to unions that are still sore about the free trade agreement with Mexico. But it is going to change the character of trade diplomacy.

With the expansion of world trade, it is both desirable and inevitable that social issues should be taken up explicitly in these talks. But it will not be free of friction. Although the United States swears that it has nothing of the sort in mind, most of the developing countries suspect that this new attention to labor conditions will become merely a veil for a new style of protectionism to keep their low-wage products from competing in high-wage countries.

Most of the world's governments, after years of work, managed to agree last December on a substantial expansion of the world's trading rules. This effort, known as the Uruguay Round of talks, will establish a new World Trade Organization to administer these rules, and the preparatory committee begins work next week. It has announced that it will take up what Mr. Kantor, the chief American negotiator, calls "the issue of the intersection between trade and international labor standards."

But the internationally recognized standards

are in fact recognized chiefly by high-wage democracies. Unions and some of the politicians there want a weapon against not only goods made with child labor and forced labor but also goods made by poorly paid labor in general, and goods from authoritarian countries that do not permit labor to organize.

Mr. Kantor says the Clinton administration's purposes are entirely different—to use trade as a mighty lever to lift social and political conditions abroad. It is wrong to think, he argued the other day, that economic development alone will automatically improve the lives of working people. That does not happen without a struggle because "social justice, market economies and democracy are all linked."

Trying to use trade as a tool to advance democracy abroad is a noble idea, very much in the American missionary tradition. But it turns these negotiations into a threat to all governments that are less than democratic. Until now India, fearing for its exports, has been the most articulate opponent of bringing labor standards into the trade talks. But India is a democracy. There is an even bigger country that is not—a country whose exports to the United States are growing fast. Deliberately or not, the Clinton administration is widening its dispute over human rights with China.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Groping Forward in Japan

In just eight months as prime minister, Morihiro Hosokawa brought deep and irreversible changes to Japan's politics. In the end, sadly, he was undercut by the same kind of financial scandal against which he had earlier been the symbol of protest. But before that happened he forced the passage of legislation that will dramatically improve the conduct of Japanese elections, not least by curbing the excessive role of corporate contributions. The first prime minister in nearly four decades not to belong to the center-right Liberal Democratic Party, he marked the end of its long dominance.

The causes of this upheaval have not been entirely homegrown. Like many other countries, Japan is now searching for new political directions in a new world. With the end of Soviet-American tensions that induced voters in many places to endure financial corruption as the price of stability, they seem to have decided that they can do with less of both.

After World War II the major defeated countries—Germany, Italy and Japan—all reacted similarly. Each put its politics into a kind of trusteeship, under prudent and reliable men in dark suits, while the rest of the population went about the important business of getting rich. The pressures on Germany, with its long border on the Iron Curtain and a quarter of its people on the other side, led to

the collapse of the trusteeship there in the middle 1960s and a return to multiparty politics with alternations of power. But in Japan and Italy the trusteeships persisted, dominated in each case by one big conservative party and accompanied in recent years by an explosion of graft and payola. The same people had been in office too long. Now the voters in both countries have expressed a sweeping revulsion, and suddenly there is great turbulence and uncertainty in places where, for decades, there was stability to a fault.

For Americans, anxious to get on with their trade complaints against Japan, that is going to be exasperating. For some time to come there may be no one at the top in Tokyo capable of imposing much change on trade policy. The vacuum in Tokyo will be much more consequential for the United States than the similar one in Rome. Not only is the Japanese economy three times as big as Italy's, but Italy long since turned over most of its trade and economic policy to the European Union in Brussels. For the Japanese, relations with the United States will doubtless remain a great concern. But their top priority now is to work out a new and more open style of democracy for a generation of voters who, until last summer, knew only the one-party kind.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## No to Torture in Singapore

If people were cowed by vandalism in New York, would New Yorkers have a safer city? That seems to be the conclusion from the talk shows, public opinion surveys and letters to editors across the United States. Michael Fay, the 18-year-old American who has been sentenced to a caning in Singapore, is not doing well in the polls.

At his hometown paper, the Dayton Daily News in Ohio, the calls and letters are running 2 to 1 in favor of inflicting this form of torture. And the Singapore government is pointing to American public opinion as vindication for its uncompromising policy. The comparison is made again and again: Singapore and New York, clean streets versus dirty ones, safety versus muggings, order versus chaos. Clearly Mr. Fay's predicament has touched an American nerve. For many who envy Singapore's orderly, clean society, who are tired of the dirt and danger of U.S. cities, the threat of pain and humiliation for transgressors seems worth the price. Japan, however, is also an orderly and relatively safe society; its order is not paid for with the fear of torture. Neither is Australia's. On the other hand, Brazil, whose police shoot vagrant children for picking pockets, has not made its streets any safer.

Perhaps the general callousness about what Mr. Fay is facing may be related to the nature of his punishment. Maybe, because it is directed at the buttocks, it resembles too closely the childhood spankings or fraternity hazing

that many Americans remember with something bordering on nostalgia. It is hard for many people to imagine such a procedure causing the recipient to pass out, go into shock or sustain permanent scarring.

Many Americans believe reasonably that visitors to another country should try to conform to local customs and laws, and should be prepared to suffer the customary punishment for flouting them. But Mr. Fay's lawyers argue that caning has never been used in Singapore to punish vandalism of private property. Mr. Fay is being singled out, they say, and his American detractors are simply helping Singapore score propaganda points.

Whatever the case, it is disheartening to watch Americans, in their yearning for order, endorsing medieval torture for an act of adolescent mischief. It is time for Americans appalled by Mr. Fay's sentence to raise their voices in protest. American corporations—like General Motors, Eastman Kodak, Dow Chemical or Texas Instruments—that trade with Singapore should lean on President Ong Teng Cheong for clemency. It is also time for people concerned about Mr. Fay to flood the Singapore Embassy with phone calls. The ombudsman in Washington is (202) 537-3100. America, the land that led the world in decrying cruel and unusual punishment, must demonstrate that order bought with torture is over worth the price—at home or abroad.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Comment

### Korean Opportunity for China

There is a way out for China that would give it a nuclear-free Korea and still bait the Americans. Instead of resisting sanctions on North Korea, it could threaten to impose them. True, the threat might have to be carried out, if Kim Il Sung is determined to go it alone, and that would bring the risk of North Korea's collapse. But threats may be the only way of getting North Korea out of the bomb business. America would hate to see China take credit for solving Asia's biggest security problem. China, meanwhile, would for once have proved itself the greater power for Asia to reckon with. Masterful, and masterly.

—The Economist (London).

### Tokyo Has a Promise to Keep

Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa's sudden decision to resign should not be used by Tokyo as an excuse to back away from his promise to have a package of measures to open Japan's markets soon. The need to fulfill that promise is more pressing than ever as the world, not just the United States, watches. Reformist Hosokawa unfortunately fell short in delivering bombshell changes during his eight months in office, but he did manage to set Japan on a course of change, politically and economically. A slide back to the status quo would further derail U.S.-Japanese efforts to create a new framework for trade.

—Los Angeles Times.

## Old Communists Fear a Chinese Voice for Democracy

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON—Who is Wei Jingsheng and why is China's very old Old Guard willing to gamble a big chunk of the \$23 billion trade surplus that their country will run this year with America to keep Mr. Wei from speaking his mind? These are the questions raised by China's determined pursuit and persecution of Mr. Wei since Secretary of State Warren Christopher went to Beijing last month and urged Deng Xiaoping's government to ease up on human rights abuses—after which the government hounded Mr. Wei even more relentlessly.

The Chinese behavior is indecent. More to the point, it is not very smart. It corners Mr. Christopher, who must make the key recommendation to President Bill Clinton before June 3 on renewing China's most-favored-nation trading access to the American market. It is inconceivable that Mr. Christopher would recommend extending most-favored status if the Chinese treat Mr. Wei and other dissidents worse as a result of his trip.

Deng and Company must believe that they have something substantial to fear from Mr. Wei. Can his power be terrifying enough to justify deliberately embarrassing an American secretary of state, forgoing special trade advantages and putting Beijing's economic allies in the American business community on the spot by abusing a solitary, nonviolent advocate of democracy?

It is the force of the idea that Mr. Wei embodies which rattles the Beijing Communists to the point of cutting off their collective nose to spite their collective face. He has their number, and especially Mr. Deng's. Letting him speak freely would show them to be the frauds they are.

Mr. Wei, a former Red Guard, was working as an electrician at the Beijing zoological garden in November 1978 when posters appealing for democratic reforms appeared on a wall near the Forbidden City. This became Democracy Wall, indirectly encouraged by Mr. Deng's promises to undo the radical excesses of Mao Zedong and the Gang of Four.

Mr. Deng had launched China on the post-Mao path he called the Four Modernizations: industry, science and technology, agriculture, and military affairs. Specific targets were set in each area for sustained national growth that would "propel China yet again toward the modern age," the historian Jonathan D. Spence writes in "The Gate of Heavenly Peace."

Mr. Wei's original sin was to take Mr. Deng at his word. On Dec. 15, 1978, he authored a wall poster entitled "The Fifth Modernization." The four changes proposed by Mr. Deng would produce nothing lasting unless they were accompa-

nied by political modernization—by democracy. Mr. Wei wrote, signing his name and address. He published a magazine exploring this theme until he was arrested in May 1979. The prosecutor called him "the scum of the nation" and ignored the dissident's assurance that the Fifth Modernization was aimed at "making China rich and powerful." The court sentenced him to 15 years in prison on trumped-up charges of threatening China's national security.

Mr. Deng boasted in party meetings that the West, busy playing the China card against the Soviet Union, would not disrupt relations for the sake of an outspoken electrician—just as the Polish Communists banked on another electrician-dissident, Lech Walesa, disappearing. Now it is Mr. Deng who seems prepared to disrupt relations with the West because of Mr. Wei.

Released from prison last September, Mr. Wei has shown that the experience has not broken his spirit. Despite repeated threats from the government, he has continued to speak out about the need for democracy. On April 4 he was detained by police and placed under house arrest. Tong Yi, his assistant, has also been detained.

The persecution of Mr. Wei and of hundreds of other pro-democracy activists eats the ground from under the feet of those who want Mr. Clinton to renew most-favored status. Without Mr. Clinton's authorization, China,

which is not a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, is not eligible for the low tariffs that the status grants to America's other trading partners.

Mr. Clinton wants to extend the status and find a way to avoid fighting this battle year after year. Those sentiments are shared by all of his senior aides. But they concede that if the decision had to be made today, in the wake of China's thumb-in-the-eye treatment of Mr. Christopher and persecution of Mr. Wei, the president would revoke the trade privilege for Beijing, either partially or wholly.

Mr. Deng seems intent on proving Wei Jingsheng right once again. Shortly after his release, Mr. Wei said that U.S. attempts to find a reasonable compromise on human rights would not work with Mr. Deng. He cited Aesop's fable about the ill-advised lamb that tried to reason with the wolf. "I'm afraid any attempt to use reason and logic will prove abortive," he said. "It is not that the wolf does not understand reason. It is that he isn't interested."

Does Mr. Deng hate Mr. Wei and his outspoken ways more than he values low-tariff trade with America? It is hard to believe. But it is even harder to believe otherwise if you look at the evidence. This wolf would rather have his meal than listen to reason.

The Washington Post.

## Central Africa's Nightmare Makes Help All the More Necessary

By Clifton R. Wharton Jr.

NEW YORK—The neighboring African countries of Rwanda and Burundi have been plunged into unimaginable anarchy and bloodshed. Last week's violence—the plane crash that killed the two national presidents, the police and army rampage that killed more than 1,000 people in Kigali, the Rwandan capital—was only the latest convulsion in decades of ethnic warfare. Relief agencies estimate that 100,000 people have died in Burundi since October.

The death of Burundi's president, Cyprien Ntaryamira, was returning from a peace conference in Tanzania when his plane was reportedly shot down, brought back a vivid memory of my meeting with his predecessor, Melchior Ndadaye, in Washington on Oct. 7. It also recalled troubling questions about how the West often views the prospects for "democracy" in countries such as Burundi.

At 40, Mr. Ndadaye was his country's first Hutu leader, despite the overwhelming majority (about 85 percent) of his ethnic group in the population. He was also the first democratically elected head of state in Burundi. He envisioned Burundi as a multiethnic nation in which the long bloody rivalries of the Hutu and Tutsi peoples would be set aside.

He came to meet with State Department officials. As he outlined his plans for Burundi, I could not help but be taken by his youthful vigor and commitment.

He had been moving decisively since his election in June, taking firm steps to strengthen the fledgling democratic transition. He had renounced revenge and was creating a govern-

ment of reconciliation—by including prominent Tutsis in his cabinet, freeing most political prisoners and allowing the return of exiled dissidents from both ethnic groups.

Enormous tasks faced him. His nation had known nothing but a tangled history of tribal conflict, European colonialism, monarchy and military rule. He had begun to plan the costly repatriation of refugees—perhaps 200,000 people. (He himself had spent 11 years in exile in Rwanda.)

He had to build democratic institu-

tions from the ground floor—an undertaking requiring parliamentary training, civic education and the strengthening of nongovernmental organizations. The challenge was to adapt these institutions to the unique circumstances of his country rather than merely clone a Western model.

And he had to address Burundi's all-consuming foreign debt, which was crushing the economic progress so crucial to stability. Mr. Ndadaye knew that it would require more than foreign aid, and thus he also met with American business leaders, hoping to interest them in trade and investment.

Let us not underestimate his administrative and social reforms, even while he sought international support and economic stability.

That he failed must not be taken as proof that Burundi is impervious to reform. It is another signal to the West that we cannot push democracy faster than it can be assimilated.

Africa's most populous nation, Nigeria, remains a vivid example of this point. Reports last week about a global Nigerian drug trafficking network, run with the protection of the government, suggest that the label "democracy" cannot be used to cover up a corrupt dictatorship.

We must recognize that a single free

election does not a democracy make. In promoting democracy abroad, U.S. foreign policy must take into account the possibility—the probability—of failures like that in Burundi.

When they happen, we must continue to offer our support and the necessary financial aid, trying to ensure that it is kept out of the hands of corrupt officials and instead goes directly to the leaders and grass-roots organizations that truly make up the foundation of democracy.

We must not attempt to impose a "made in America" democratic model on other countries, especially where cultural and ethnic divisions are ancient and bloody. What works for us will not necessarily work in Burundi.

Certain principles—freedom of speech and association, and the secret ballot—may be essential, but the details of the democratic process must accommodate historical reality. We must give up. Only with the help of the free world will Burundi, Rwanda and other struggling African nations inch toward a place in a peaceful global order.

The writer, a former chairman of the board of the Rockefeller Foundation and former deputy secretary of state, contributed this comment to The New York Times.

gather tribes and cultures whose only common heritage, unless held in check by a brutal dictatorship, is warfare against one another.

There may be some truth to this view—but it does not apply only to Africa. Ancient hatreds and a lack of democratic traditions also lie behind the struggle in several former Soviet republics and of course in Bosnia. Africa's smaller nations continue their bloodshed and turmoil largely out of sight, often considered a lost cause.

Mr. Ndadaye knew what he was up against. He was no innocent who believed that his election would resolve bitter history overnight. He knew that reconciliation was fundamental to his governmental and social reforms, even while he sought international support and economic stability.

That he failed must not be taken as proof that Burundi is impervious to reform. It is another signal to the West that we cannot push democracy faster than it can be assimilated.

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## For an International Agreement to Tame Economic Migration

By Bimal Ghosh

GENEVA—Trade officials from more than 100 countries convene in Marrakech this Tuesday for the formal signing of the final act of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade talks. There, the major trading nations have an opportunity to offer new hope of controlling the causes of much of the world's irregular migration.

As markets in industrial countries become more open and obsolescent industries are restructured or replaced, the demand for irregular immigrant labor will fall. At the same time, increased access for labor-intensive goods in the markets of industrial countries will raise employment and income in the migrant-sending countries of Eastern Europe and the developing world.

Reckless but lucrative trafficking in irregular migrants, now flourishing in Western Europe, the United States and Japan, can be replaced by productive trade in goods and services, promoting welfare in both rich and poor countries. Ineffective or delayed application of the Uruguay Round agreements and continued protectionism would prevent this.

In the Group of Seven industrialized countries, some 23 million jobs are supported by merchandise exports, and many more by exports of services. These exports depend largely on the import demand of Eastern Europe and migrant-sending developing countries. In 1991 and 1992, U.S. exports to Latin America, the Middle East and China grew at 10 times the rate of increase to Western Europe. The European Union's exports to these

markets increased by 13 percent. Protectionist lobbies need to be reminded that a much larger share of EU exports now goes to developing countries than to North America and Japan together. And these countries have the largest reserves of unfulfilled demand—a vast potential market for the industrial countries to tap.

Neither the developing countries nor Eastern Europe will be able to sustain such demand unless they can earn enough foreign exchange through their own exports. Trade protectionism would thus cause job and income losses to spiral everywhere. Increased migration pressure in the developing countries and in Eastern Europe, and more blatant forms of xenophobia in the receiving industrial countries, would result.

The Uruguay Round agreements will not benefit all migrant-sending countries uniformly. Food-importing countries will lose, due to higher food prices, and countries receiving trade preferences in industrial-country markets will see the value of their preferences fall as tariffs are lowered. This will include nearly all of Africa and the Caribbean. Most of these countries will need—and deserve—aid in other forms. With an estimated annual gain of more than \$240 billion in a decade as a result of the Uruguay Round agreements, the world economy can surely be expected to afford such aid.

Trade by itself is not a perfect substitute for economic migration. Nor is foreign direct investment or aid. So long as there are wage and income disparities between countries, migration will remain a balancing force. These disparities cannot be erased overnight.

A recent estimate for a group of migrant-sending countries in Eastern Europe and North Africa finds that a growth rate of 6 to 8 percent will be needed to raise their per capita GNP to the level of France in 50 years. By current growth predictions, it will take 35 years for incomes in Eastern Europe to reach half the average of industrial countries.

The limits to the potential of foreign direct investment are also clear. Just to replace current remittances from its workers abroad, a migrant-sending country like Bangladesh would have needed \$3.1 billion—100 times the amount of foreign direct investment it received in 1989. The Philippines would have needed 10 times and Morocco about five times their real investment inflows in recent years.

But trade, aid and investment can be molded into a coherent policy of economic cooperation to make migration more manageable and productive. To do so, nations will need to negotiate—building on the potential of the Uruguay Round accords for freer movement of goods, services and eventually capital—a new international migration agreement.

The new agreement should encourage labor-surplus countries to adopt broad-based development strategies, with emphasis on job creation, demographic planning and human

resource development. To ensure the success of these strategies, the migrant-receiving industrial countries must modify their trade, aid and investment policies. These changes must include planned assistance for restructuring wasteful, noncompetitive industries that depend on irregular immigrant labor.

The agreement should provide guidelines to create specific outlets for legal and orderly migration, matching the needs and conditions of both labor-surplus and capital-rich countries. In addition to admissions on family and other humanitarian grounds, demographic and labor-market needs, including short-term movements of personnel for trade in services, should be covered flexibly and harmoniously.

The new agreement must envisage increased support for those migrants who are willing or even anxious to return, ensuring their smooth reinsertion as productive and useful citizens in their countries of origin.

By enhancing the predictability of the international migration system the new agreement would enhance the capacity of the states to respond to a full range of migration situations. It will, hopefully, put an end to the growing fear that movements of people might get out of control.

The writer, senior consultant to the International Organization for Migration, has just completed a study on global migration and development, jointly commissioned by the United Nations and the IOM. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

## America's Upstarts in Uniform Should Go Quietly Back to Base

By Richard H. Kohn

CHAPEL HILL, North Carolina—The U.S. military is now more alienated from its civilian leadership than at any time in American history, and more vocal about it.

The current dispute between the White House and top military officials over the use of force in Bosnia is only the latest in a long line of open disagreements that have sometimes crossed the line into outright insults.

Last year a two-star general was retired from the air force for publicly disparaging President Bill Clinton. The chief of staff felt obliged to demand in public that people in his service show the president proper respect.

At the army's elite Command and General Staff College, a respected congressman was greeted by catcalls at the mention of the president.

When Americans think about civilian control of the military, concern about a coup always lurks in the background. But that has never really been a serious threat. The military does obey orders, and civilians do make the key decisions. But beneath the surface is a continual struggle for influence, as the military strives for the autonomy it needs to accomplish its tasks and the civilians seek to impose policies to meet national needs and advance their own agendas.

Because so much depends on current personalities and issues, a proper relationship between civilian and military leaders is hard to define. Sometimes the line is clear, as when Douglas MacArthur tried to overturn the limits that the Truman administration imposed on the Korean War. At other times it is murky. But most people can sense when the balance is awry.

Colin Powell, during his tenure as chairman of the Joint Chiefs, used the swollen power added to the office by Congress in 1986 and the political skill acquired in two decades in Washing-

ton's wars to steer his own vision of a post-Cold War military establishment through the executive branch and Congress. He became the chief link between civilian and military during the Gulf War, and he did his best to isolate one from the other, subordinating policy to military means and preventing the Bush administration from rushing into combat before first assembling overwhelming force.

He and the chiefs became virtually the arbiters of intervention in Bosnia and Somalia. During his last year in office, General Powell spoke out publicly on foreign policy quite beyond the American tradition of military abstention from politics. On homosexual service, he and the other chiefs, in alliance with key members of Congress, took full advantage of a new young president with weak authority in military affairs to force the "Don't ask, don't tell" compromise on the incoming administration.

Much of the military's expanded influence during the last two generations has stemmed from inattention or abdication on the part of civilians in the White House and the Pentagon, or from battles between Congress and the president that allowed the military to pursue its own ends.

During the Cold War, the military came to see itself as separate in society, with its own needs and interests—adept at using the media, maneuvering inside the bureaucracy, playing off the administration and Congress, and pronouncing publicly on issues of war, peace and policy. Mr. Clinton and his generation of senior military leadership may not be able to repair the damage, but they must try.

The White House should stop treating the military like a political constituency, to be wooed or "dealt with," and more like a trusted family doctor: to be respected, the advice pondered—and checked against second opinions—and the recommendations accepted or rejected with full appreciation of the risk.

The military should withdraw into personal and professional neutrality, abandoning participation in public debate about foreign and military policy. It should resist the temptation to build alliances with lawmakers and the public for more military spending, or to maneuver in the bureaucracy to outwit civilian direction.

The officer corps must come to terms with a much smaller role in American society—perhaps with being marginal again, as before 1940, and certainly with being unequivocally nonpartisan.

Officers need to remind themselves that peace and demobilization were the goals of the Cold War, and that suspicion of the laws, even disagreement, has been central to America's political heritage. They need to grapple with the fact that their predecessors, who had not only to educate civilian decision makers but also to swallow direction from leaders who were sometimes uninformed, misguided, capricious or even contemptible.

It will fall to William Perry, the secretary of defense, to rebuild the relationship. He will have to undertake a concerted campaign to reassert civilian control—first by having the secretaries of the services take back the authority that has migrated to the uniformed staffs in the Pentagon, and second by making sure that the next generation of generals recognize the problem and will help to restore some trust between the two sides.

He has made a good start by consulting the Joint Chiefs on Bosnia, and

then telling them that their public statements on the subject were no longer needed—or appreciated.

Now he needs to make some tough choices on service roles and missions; on the balance between readiness, modernization and the size of the force; and on weapons procurement.

The chiefs value firm leadership. Mr. Perry must assure that their replacements, due for appointment this year and next, will offer unvarnished advice without regard for personal or institutional aggrandizement, then lead their services in loyally supporting whatever course is chosen.

Most important, civil-military relations need to be discussed and taught at every level of military education.

The Republic is not in immediate danger. But a consciously separate military participating actively in policy and national debate can only erode American democracy.

The writer, chairman of the Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense at the University of North Carolina, was the air force's chief historian from 1981 to 1991. This article was adapted from The New York Times from one in the current issue of The National Interest.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1894: Loss to the Pope

ROME—The Pope has just had the misfortune to lose his confessor, Father de Bassano, who belonged to the Order of the Franciscans. This order has for a long time past had the privilege of furnishing the preachers to the Pope during Lent. His Holiness was always present at their sermons. As regards his confessor, the Pope chose him as he pleased. The confessor of the Pope was formerly a power at the Vatican, and the various Courts and Ambassadors tried to take advantage of the influence he exercised on the conscience of His Holiness. This, however, did not hold good of the confessor of Leo XIII, who lived in such obscurity that most people only learned of his name on hearing of his death.

### 1919: Soviets Opposed

BALE—In Bavaria the declaration of a Republic of Soviets has roused great opposition; two governments

are now disputing the power there. Opposition movements are reported almost everywhere in Bavaria. All the country people are against the Republic of Councils and in various cities in which it has been proclaimed the population generally appears hostile. The attempt was made to declare a Republic of Soviets at Nuremberg, but failed, as it did also at Ingolstadt, Würzburg, Bayreuth and Erlangen.

### 1944: Policy Defended

WASHINGTON—[From our New York edition:] Secretary of State Cordell Hull, in a definitive speech answering criticism that the United States has no foreign policy, revealed tonight [April 9] that the Roosevelt administration is well along with plans for establishment of an international organization to maintain peace and prevent aggression and for economic and other co-operative agreements to sustain America's position as a working partner with the free nations of the world.

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International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France.  
Tel.: (1) 46.37.93.00. Fax: (1) 46.37.06.51. Adv.: 46.37.52.12. Internet: IHT@eurcom.fr  
Mgr. Dir. Asia: Michael Richardson, 3 Cornhill Rd., Singapore 0511. Tel. (65) 477-7768. Fax: (65) 274-2334  
Mgr. Dir. Asia: Rolf D. Krumpholtz, 50 Gloucester Rd., Hong Kong. Tel. 852-9222-1188. Fax: 852-9222-1190  
Gen. Mgr. Germany: W. Lautbach, Friedrichstr. 15, 10117 Berlin. Tel. (49) 30 72 67 55. Fax: (49) 30 72 73 10  
Pres. U.S.: Michael Conroy, 880 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022. Tel. (212) 752-3892. Fax: (212) 755-5783  
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## Q&A: Beijing Must Cooperate if It Wants to Join GATT

Trade ministers of 121 nations gather in Marrakesh, Morocco, this week to sign the Uruguay Round treaty of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Peter Sutherland, the director-general of GATT, who helped push through the agreement, spoke with Alan Friedman of the International Herald Tribune.

**Q.** The signing of GATT on April 15 finalizes the world's biggest trade accord. What is its significance, aside from the estimated \$200 billion of income the agreement is likely to add to the world economy?

**A.** We were very close to the brink of failure last December, and if we had failed to agree the world would have changed irrevocably. There would have been new defenses against rising protectionism, and that would have meant political and economic conflict. The accord is a defining moment in the latter part of this century.

**Q.** GATT will be replaced next year by the new World Trade Organization. What role do you see for that organization in the future?

**A.** I believe the WTO will become what it was originally intended to be at the time of the Bretton Woods agreements, namely a center of the trilateral world institutions that will create initiatives for free trade, and which by developing ideas will be more than just a secretariat. I have talked with Lewis

Preston of the World Bank and Michel Camdessus of the International Monetary Fund about increasing linkages and synergies with the WTO. They are both positive about this, and also about bodies such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development providing ideas on trade.

**Q.** Can you give an example of how you would cooperate with the IMF and World Bank at the World Trade Organization?

**A.** We could work together, for example, on country visits, with the WTO providing trade analysis. In one case, Egypt, we are already being funded by the World Bank to work together.

**Q.** Both China and Russia are applying to become members of GATT, and of the new organization. How soon will they join?

**A.** China has been an observer at GATT since 1982, and an applicant for membership since 1987. I have had direct communications in the last couple of weeks from Prime Minister Li Peng and he has made clear that China wants to become an original member of the WTO. The target date for the WTO to come into existence is Jan. 1, 1995. The question of whether that is feasible or not is up to the contracting parties of GATT, but we are having a constructive dialogue.

**Q.** Yet some Western diplomats complain about

China's refusal to disclose their quantitative trade restrictions, their quotas. Some of that fairly basic information is treated by China as a state secret. How do you get around such problems?

**A.** Clearly if China wishes to be a member it will have to cooperate. I will be discussing their application in May when I visit Beijing.

**Q.** What about the concerns some members have about China's human rights record?

**A.** It is the case that the negotiating positions of contracting parties to GATT may be based on issues other than trade.

**Q.** What about the Russian application to join? Can GATT or the WTO play a role in encouraging economic reform in Russia?

**A.** I think this is the view of the Russian authorities themselves, who want trade not aid. The Russians have said that joining GATT is a priority issue for them, although their application comes a long time after China's.

**Q.** In the last few days you helped to broker a compromise on the demands from the United States and France that workers' rights be discussed by the preparatory committee that is planning for the WTO. What can you say about workers' rights and trade?

**A.** Clearly the trade-labor issue was not acceptable

to a large number of countries. What I was determined to avoid was this subject becoming a matter of rancorous megaphone diplomacy between North and South.

**Q.** Isn't the linking of world trade and the observance of internationally recognized labor standards similar to the link between protecting the environment and trade? Hasn't the environmental link already been accepted?

**A.** We have had a remarkable success on the environment, but we are dealing with 120 parties and these subjects require consensus. The environment discussion took years, and it was difficult and time consuming to achieve.

**Q.** What do you see as the main trade challenges after Marrakesh?

**A.** First of all we have to set up the organizational structure while the ratification process continues. It is not good enough to merely monitor trade trends. We have to develop a structure that allows us to identify policies and needs proactively.

**Q.** Isn't one of the main differences between GATT and the WTO that the latter will have an elaborate dispute settlement mechanism? Will that meanism have teeth?

**A.** The WTO will have a dispute-solving mechanism that can take definitive decisions; it will be a very powerful mechanism. There will be real sanctions.

## Bonn Hopes Strikes Help Peace Process

Reuters

BONN — Germany said Sunday that it hoped NATO air strikes launched against Bosnian Serbs for the first time in the war would persuade Serbian forces to rein in their attack on Gorazde.

Peter Vogel, a government spokesman, said Bonn hoped the air strikes, ordered to protect United Nations personnel trapped in the enclave, would help advance the peace process in Bosnia.

"The attackers of Gorazde have no one to blame but themselves for this answer from NATO, which was executed on behalf of the United Nations," Mr. Vogel said.

"The German government hopes that the attack will succeed in its aims and that attempts to seek a cease-fire in Bosnia can now continue."

Mr. Vogel added: "The government hopes the Serb side will now cooperate."

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has assembled the biggest collection of Western air power

since the 1991 Gulf War at bases in Italy. This includes dozens of fighters enforcing a UN ban on military flights over Bosnia, as well as ground-attack aircraft and bombers.

The United States has provided the backbone of the force from Aviano Air Base in northern Italy, but France, Britain, the Netherlands and Turkey are also taking part.

The F-16 used in Sunday's attack is one of the world's best fighter aircraft and can be equipped for a ground-attack role.

NATO threatened air strikes against Bosnian Serb forces besieging Sarajevo in February unless they withdrew their heavy weapons from around the capital within 10 days. The Serbs complied.

But later that month, NATO saw its first combat action since the alliance was founded in 1949. U.S. F-16s shot down four Bosnian Serb "Seagull" light attack planes that had violated the ban on military flights over Bosnia.

## China Frees A Shanghai Dissident

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SHANGHAI — The police on Sunday released Bao Ge, whose detention along with another dissident caused a diplomatic flap during a visit by Prime Minister Edouard Balladur of France.

Mr. Bao has been ordered to stay at home, however, and plainclothes policemen are outside his front door, a family member said.

He was brought home under police escort Sunday morning after about 24 hours in detention, during which he was questioned about a letter signed by more than 50 local activists and sent to China's parliament last month. The letter demanded democratic change and an official review of the 1989 protests in Beijing, crushed by the army with heavy loss of life.

"They were very angry about the letter," the family member said.

Mr. Balladur's visit was soured by a wave of arrests of dissidents. Among them were two of the most famous dissidents, Wei Jingsheng and Xu Wenli, as well as three in Shanghai, Mr. Bao, Wang Fucheng and Yang Zhou.

Mr. Balladur left China on Sunday declaring his four-day visit, to patch up a dispute over French arms sales to Taiwan, a success.

As he flew to Shanghai on Saturday Mr. Balladur demanded an explanation about the detentions. He later said he was satisfied with the answer from Chinese authorities that Mr. Bao and Mr. Wang had not been arrested. The Chinese explanation apparently hinged on the definition of arrest.

The trip "was meant to turn a page in our relations and resume relations that are more fruitful and useful for both countries," Mr. Balladur told France-2 television. "That was my goal and I think the goal has been reached," he said.

Mr. Balladur was the first French prime minister to visit China in 16 years. Flanked by Foreign Minister Alain Juppé and Industry and External Trade Minister Gerard Longuet, his main goal was to cap a three-month process of normalization after a two-year dispute over French arms sales to Taiwan.

(Reuters, AFP)

## Grenade Attack in Moscow

Reuters

MOSCOW — A man was killed and more than a dozen people were wounded when a grenade was tossed from a car outside a Moscow subway station in southwest Moscow, the police said Sunday. The authorities linked the attack to rivalry between criminal groups.



**A MONKISH BRAWL** — A policeman, center, being beaten Sunday by dissident Buddhist monks. They stormed their order's offices in Seoul in an attempt to depose a senior monk. Two monks were hospitalized; dozens of others suffered scrapes and bruises in clashes with the police.

## CHINA: Social Rifts Nurture Pro-Democracy Activists

Continued from Page 1

overthrow of the party can save China.

It is fear of this scenario that appears to be fueling the recent wave of detentions of political dissidents, including that of the country's most prominent and outspoken activist, Wei Jingsheng.

Mr. Zhang, who is based here in Anhui Province, historically one of the poorest regions of the country, is a great admirer of Mr. Wei. In Mr. Zhang's one-room apartment, two pictures of Mr. Wei are taped on the wall next to his bed.

Bengbu is situated near the Huai River and is a critical transport hub on the rail line between Beijing and Shanghai. Its problems mirror those of many cities in China. Failing state industries in this city of 700,000 have led to rising unemployment and crime in recent years. In the surrounding villages, peasants who live in the squalor of mud huts have seen their living standards fall.

Such disaffected and disgruntled citizens are the targets of Mr. Zhang's proselytizing. He is on the road 20 days each month, traveling around the province. He regularly visits Beijing and the provincial capital of Hefei, about 100 kilometers south of here.

Because of the disapproval of

authorities, he and his associates are unable to create a formal organization or call regular meetings. But they claim to have at least 100 underground "core cadres" in the Bengbu metropolitan area who can be called on at a moment's notice. They include intellectuals, workers and veterans with 10 to 15 years of pro-democracy experience and who have been jailed in the past.

Except for Mr. Zhang, almost all of them have regular jobs. For fear of jeopardizing the security of the others, only Mr. Zhang can be identified publicly.

There are several hundred core cadres involved in pro-democracy activities in Anhui Province, Mr. Zhang estimates. It is impossible to independently verify his claims. But during several days, it was clear that he was in contact with different cells and that he had several people who ran errands for him.

"Now our strength is much better than at the peak of the 1989 movement," said Mr. Zhang, adding that if China had another event like the Tiananmen Square crackdown, "or even one that is smaller, tens of thousands of people will come crawling out of the ground because they've been preparing for this for a long time."

In fact, in the coming months, greater pressure on political dissent is expected because authorities are

fearful of any spark that might set off large-scale protests in the weeks preceding the fifth anniversary of the Tiananmen Square crackdown. A top-level directive from Beijing has been sent to police officers around the country warning them about dissidents seeking to link up with workers and peasants.

Mr. Zhang, a nuclear physics graduate, is confident, calm and determined. A rebel from an early age, he has been jailed five times for his activities, which included trying to set up a guerrilla base in 1988 in southwest Yunnan Province. And he said he is not afraid of being jailed again for speaking to a foreign reporter. Some dissidents say foreign coverage of their activities may even help protect them.

"I'm a professional revolutionary," he said with pride.

His confidence comes from being a local peasant who became the only one in his village to go to college, placing first in the city's university exams.

His rebellious streak was influenced by his grandfather, who turned to Christianity after becoming disillusioned with the Communist attacks on Confucius during the 1966-1976 Cultural Revolution. By the time Mr. Zhang was 14, he too had lost faith in communism because his best teachers were labeled "rightists" and persecuted.

## POLICY: After Strikes, Clinton Calls on Serbs to Halt Attacks on Gorazde

Continued from Page 1

that there were UN personnel in Gorazde, that an attack on the town would be interpreted as a clear violation of the rules, and it happened anyway."

The president said the latest round of Serbian attacks on Gorazde, a Muslim enclave in eastern Bosnia that had been declared a UN "safe haven," came at "quite an important point" in diplomatic efforts to end the fighting there.

He said he had great confidence in the UN commander in the region, Sir Michael Rose, a British lieutenant general, who requested the air support, and applauded the "rapid response" of UN civilian authorities in authorizing the NATO bombing runs.

Mr. Clinton said he had discussed the deteriorating situation in Gorazde on Thursday, Friday and Sunday with his top foreign policy advisers.

"I think we have to be firm," Mr. Clinton said, adding that such a stance has tended to advance peace talks.

"That's all we're trying to do, to further negotiations," the president added.

With Congress about to return from a recess, there were indications that Republican leaders were prepared to criticize White House Bosnia policy as confused and weak-kneed.

Before the Gorazde strikes, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the Republican leader in the Senate, referred to U.S. policy Sunday as "a little confused" and said Pentagon officials had

inadvertently given a "green light" to Serbian commanders.

Technically, the U.S. F-16s were acting on a request by UN officials in Bosnia for "close air support" as a backup for endangered UN forces on the ground. Washington had said for months that it would respond with its aircraft to protect UN forces on the ground.

Although the military circumstances were vague late Sunday, the political message to Serbian forces seemed clear: If pushed to the wall, the Western allies, representing both the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization leadership, will take carefully circumscribed action.

U.S. policy on the civil war in the former Yugoslavia has been marked by considerable backpedaling, starting from the 1992 presidential campaign, in which Mr. Clinton called for the consideration of using air strikes at a time when President George Bush was reluctant to do so.

Since entering the White House, however, Mr. Clinton and his advisers have shown far less inclination to issue blanket threats, especially after European leaders rejected U.S. calls for air strikes and lifting the United Nations embargo on arms to the region.

After agreeing to send U.S. troops to Bosnia once an overall peace settlement was arranged, the White House began placing substantial conditions on the use of U.S. troops, chief among them being the assent of Congress.

Recent diplomatic successes around Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia, coupled with the one-day action of U.S. aircraft in shooting down four Serbian planes violating Bosnia's no-flight zone, cast the United States in the role of protector of a fragile peace. But this role appeared to crumble as Serbian nationalist forces advanced on Gorazde.

Last Sunday, Defense Secretary William J. Perry stated flatly in a nationally televised broadcast that U.S. forces would not enter the battle to protect Gorazde's Muslims. Many analysts read his remarks to mean that Washington was washing its hands of any responsibility for pressuring the Serbs militarily.

Later, General John M. Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, seemed to back Mr. Perry when he suggested that Gorazde's terrain and placement of ground forces made air attacks more problematic than in Sarajevo.

By midweek, however, Mr. Clinton's national security adviser made it clear in a speech that the president was out ruling out the use of force in Bosnia. And on Sunday, Mr. Christopher again sought to stabilize the wavering policy views.

"If UN peacekeepers are in difficulty and call for close air support, that response can be made immediately," Mr. Christopher said soon before the Gorazde air strikes. "We've got ample authority and the United States will be disposed to join its NATO colleagues in responding."

## ATTACK: U.S. Warplanes Bomb Bosnian Serbs' Positions Near Gorazde

Continued from Page 1

fighting near Gorazde decreased, another UN official said.

The latest Bosnian Serbian attack on Gorazde, which began on March 29, has left nearly 100 dead and more than 400 injured in the eastern Bosnian enclave, where some 65,000 people are trapped.

About two hours before the air strike occurred, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher said the United States was ready to join any use of NATO air power to halt Bosnian Serbian advances around Gorazde.

If the UN commander asks for NATO air support to stop Serbian aggression, "we're going to be paying a lot of attention to that and responding," Mr. Christopher said in a television interview.

He said the United States had "an obligation and a right to respond along with its NATO colleagues."

The threat of NATO air attacks led to a cease-fire around Sarajevo in February, and there had been pressure for NATO to take similar action in Gorazde. Senior military officers, however, said air strikes would be less effective against the small-unit assault by the Serbs against Gorazde.

The French Foreign Ministry on Sunday said "the intensification of the Serbian offensive in Gorazde prompts France to confirm its support of any request for military pressure, including air support," that the United Nations might make.

On Saturday, Mr. Boutros Ghali ordered UN forces to use "all available means" to roll back Serbian gains around Gorazde.

Before the air strike, Mr. Chris-



Bosnian Serbian soldiers marching through a wooded area on their way to positions near Gorazde.

topher had said he was optimistic that negotiations could bring a cease-fire to the city.

"There was a very serious discussion yesterday of a cessation of hostilities between the Serbs and the Bosnians," Mr. Christopher said. "That's not just a cease-fire, but it would mean an interposition

of UN forces between the two forces, it would mean a rollback of troops, it would mean a lifting of the heavy weapons."

Mr. Christopher said that a U.S. special envoy to Bosnia, Charles E. Redman, "thinks we may reach a cessation of hostilities within the next few days." (AP, Reuters)

## Japanese to Expand Talks on Successor

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — Japan's governing coalition, teetering on the brink of collapse, held another fruitless day of talks on Sunday aimed at agreeing on a successor to Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa.

Two days of negotiations have followed Mr. Hosokawa's decision on Friday to resign after eight months in office because of a loan scandal. The negotiators were scheduled to resume the talks on Monday but under new conditions.

"Discussions will continue but we want all the leaders to take part," said the government spokesman, Masayoshi Takemura, head of the New Harbinger Party.

The Socialist Party, the largest in the coalition, sided with Mr. Takemura.

"We don't think we're going to get anywhere without the real players taking part. This includes all the candidates who could replace Hosokawa," said a Socialist official in parliament.

The resignation of Mr. Hosokawa, who remains as caretaker until a successor is chosen, has sparked a power struggle within the fractious alliance, which is now polarized.

Foreign Minister Tsutomu Hata, who is also deputy prime minister, has emerged as a strong candidate backed by his own Japan Renewal

Party, the Clean Government Party and Mr. Hosokawa's Japan New Party.

Opposed to him were several other groups led by the Socialists and Mr. Takemura's party. They suspect Mr. Hata's patron, Ichiro Ozawa, of wanting to create a big conservative party and take control of the government.

Mr. Ozawa, who masterminded the coalition's creation last August, has been trailed by controversy and allegations of scandal. It is thought that he aims to form a new alliance with one or more of his former associates in the once-dominant Liberal Democratic Party and part

ways with the Socialists and his rival, Mr. Takemura.

Mr. Ozawa and Mr. Hata led a Liberal Democratic Party revolt last year after their mentor and party boss was implicated in a big pay-off scandal that eventually cost the conservatives their 38-year grip on power. The two formed the Japan Renewal Party, which now dominates the coalition, to the ire of Mr. Takemura and other party leaders.

Mr. Takemura said his party might accept Mr. Hata as prime minister but only on condition Mr. Ozawa agrees not to meddle in government. (Reuters, AP)

## JAPAN: Amid a Scramble for Political Power, All Economic Bets Are Off

Continued from Page 1

plummeted more than 300 points. Then stocks slowly climbed back. The Nikkei index managed a 44.01 point gain, to 19,934.99.

Geoffrey Barker, the chief economist here with Barings Securities, said investors realized after the initial shock that the resignation might mean quick passage of this fiscal year's budget, which has been held hostage to the political squabbling that brought Mr. Hosokawa down.

It is expected that the next prime minister will make passing the budget his first order of business, and that the opposition will go along. Because the new budget includes increases in public works spending and a one-year tax reduction to stimulate fresh growth, its enactment has been eagerly awaited by the markets.

In addition, investors were initially nervous that the push to deregulate the Japanese econ-

omy might be in jeopardy under a new government. In fact, Mr. Hosokawa achieved little in this respect during his eight months in office, but he championed opening up Japanese markets to a bracing jolt of competition. In the long run, deregulation is regarded as necessary and positive by the markets.

Mr. Hosokawa's call for economic reform was so popular — because it would lower what are among the highest consumer prices in the world — that it is now expected that the next prime minister is unlikely to abandon the push. Indeed, just about every political leader these days is declaring himself an economic reformer.

"That's the Hosokawa effect," said Haruo Shimada, an economist at Keio University. "He really did have an impact on the economic agenda."

The economy is suffering from several mala-

dies that will make a rebound difficult, no matter who eventually heads the government. First, a flood of spending on new plants and new equipment during the "bubble economy" of the 1980's has left manufacturers with a large surplus of capacity.

Second, the strong yen, which the United States has encouraged as a way of forcing a reduction in Japan's yawning trade surplus, has hit exporters hard, further reducing profits and raising the prospects for increased unemployment.

And last, plummeting stock and real estate prices have crippled banks with mountains of bad loans, and many corporations have had to deal with huge losses on speculative investments. That legacy of the bubble years has made banks reluctant to lend and has stunted capital spending.

## Kigali Begins to Bury Piles of Corpses

Reuters

KIGALI, Rwanda — Drunken soldiers and gangs of machete-wielding youths share the streets of this hilly Rwandan capital with piles of mutilated, rotting corpses.

Crowds of youths armed with sticks, kitchen knives, anything capable of slashing open a human body, stand solemnly in the roads.

Corpses are piled in the center of streets. Corpses are laid out in lines on the sides of roads.

Bodies are everywhere. In the compounds of luxurious villas. On the doorsteps in shantytowns.

Kigali using mortars, grenades and automatic weapons.

The ethnic slaughter was touched off by the deaths last Wednesday in an air crash of Rwanda's president, Juvenal Habyarimana, and his Burundi counterpart, Cyprien Ntaryamira. Both men were Hutus. The Rwandan Foreign Ministry said the plane was shot down.

Rwanda has been racked for centuries by recurring conflict between the majority Hutus and the minority Tutsis. The Rwanda Patriotic Front rebels, who held territory north of the capital and had been promised a role in government under a peace agreement now in ruins, are mainly Tutsis.

Despite the cease-fire, roving gangs continued the bloodletting in Kigali. Most of the victims were Tutsis killed by Hutus.

In Kigali, Eric Bertin, a coordinator for the French group Doctors Without Borders, said that when he and colleagues arrived at a hospital on Sunday, they found that patients they

had treated the day before had been killed by soldiers overnight.

"We have decided it is no use to work here any more," Mr. Bertin said. "It is useless to care someone who is going to be killed anyway."

The report of the cease-fire came as the multinational emergency operation to pull thousands of foreigners out of Rwanda continued from a center in Nairobi.

The first group of French nationals was arriving in Paris on Sunday night, the French Foreign Ministry said, and airbills of other French groups from Kigali to the Burundi capital, Bujumbura, continued during the day.

Eight Belgian planes left Nairobi on Sunday for Rwanda to start evacuating Belgians and other expatriates, the Belgian Embassy in Kenya said.

Two U.S. planes carrying 150 foreign nationals who fled Rwanda by boat, including Americans, Canadians, Belgians and Britons, arrived in Nairobi on Sunday, a spokesman of the U.S. Embassy in Kenya said. The

mass graves before disease can start to spread.

Although usually drunk, the young men in the mobs seemed to feel the pride of their killings turn to shame. They threatened visitors, who left quickly through a maze of roadblocks made from iron bars and branches.

The killing squads say their checkpoints were set up to protect their neighborhoods. But the barriers prevented the escape of the neighbors they hunted down.

Justice Minister Agnes Ntamabyirho said that many of those

killed remained hidden in homes, often with survivors too terrified to move either themselves or the dead.

Only a few blocks from the Hotel de Diplomatie, where representatives of an interim government talk of peace, a dozen young men lay spread-eagled in the blood-stained dust. Horrified stab wounds marked their bodies.

Fifteen minutes later, the dead had disappeared, thrown into large trucks and driven out to a mass grave on the edge of the city, a city that had a population of 200,000 before the killings began.

aircraft are to return Monday to Bujumbura to collect more foreigners.

The U.S. secretary of state, Warren M. Christopher, said Sunday that the evacuation of Americans from Rwanda was over and described the situation in the country as "very confused, very tense and very dangerous."

"As far as I know there are no Americans that are unsafe there," he said.

Mr. Christopher said 123 Americans had been flown to Nairobi and others had crossed the border to Burundi and Zaire by truck convoy. There were a total of about 230 Americans living in Rwanda.

Mr. Christopher said that the U.S. ambassador, David Rawson, had decided against calling in the 330 Marines sent to Bujumbura to assist in the evacuation, so the Americans left without a military escort.



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### Dollar Strength

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1	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Mar 19	99%
2	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Mar 20	99%
3	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Mar 21	99%
4	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Mar 22	99%
5	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Mar 23	99%
6	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Mar 24	99%
7	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Mar 25	99%
8	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Mar 26	99%
9	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Mar 27	99%
10	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Mar 28	99%
11	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Mar 29	99%
12	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Mar 30	99%
13	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Mar 31	99%
14	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Apr 1	99%
15	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Apr 2	99%
16	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Apr 3	99%
17	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Apr 4	99%
18	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Apr 5	99%
19	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Apr 6	99%
20	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Apr 7	99%
21	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Apr 8	99%
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71	Cardinals vs. N.Y. May 28	99%
72	Cardinals vs. N.Y. May 29	99%
73	Cardinals vs. N.Y. May 30	99%
74	Cardinals vs. N.Y. May 31	99%
75	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Jun 1	99%
76	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Jun 2	99%
77	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Jun 3	99%
78	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Jun 4	99%
79	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Jun 5	99%
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81	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Jun 7	99%
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94	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Jun 20	99%
95	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Jun 21	99%
96	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Jun 22	99%
97	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Jun 23	99%
98	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Jun 24	99%
99	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Jun 25	99%
100	Cardinals vs. N.Y. Jun 26	99%

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ended Friday, April 8.

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	Stocks	Div	Yld	Sales	Net	Mean
+1	Chen			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Am			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N York			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Wash.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Calif.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ont.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
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+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ga.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Fla.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ala.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Tex.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ind.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ill.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Mich.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of N. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of S. Car.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Ark.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of La.			1967	64 1/2	
+1	Bank of Miss.			1967	64 1/2	
+						

[illegible]

Stk	Low	Close	Open	Stk	Div	Yld
12 1/4	12 1/4	12 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
12 3/4	12 3/4	12 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
13 1/4	13 1/4	13 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
13 1/2	13 1/2	13 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
13 3/4	13 3/4	13 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
14 1/4	14 1/4	14 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
14 1/2	14 1/2	14 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
14 3/4	14 3/4	14 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
15 1/4	15 1/4	15 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
15 1/2	15 1/2	15 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
15 3/4	15 3/4	15 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
16 1/4	16 1/4	16 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
16 1/2	16 1/2	16 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
16 3/4	16 3/4	16 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
17 1/4	17 1/4	17 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
17 1/2	17 1/2	17 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
17 3/4	17 3/4	17 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
18 1/4	18 1/4	18 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
18 1/2	18 1/2	18 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
18 3/4	18 3/4	18 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
19 1/4	19 1/4	19 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
19 1/2	19 1/2	19 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
19 3/4	19 3/4	19 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
20 1/4	20 1/4	20 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
20 1/2	20 1/2	20 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
20 3/4	20 3/4	20 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
21 1/4	21 1/4	21 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
21 1/2	21 1/2	21 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
21 3/4	21 3/4	21 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
22 1/4	22 1/4	22 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
22 1/2	22 1/2	22 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
22 3/4	22 3/4	22 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
23 1/4	23 1/4	23 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
23 3/4	23 3/4	23 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
24 1/4	24 1/4	24 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
24 1/2	24 1/2	24 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
24 3/4	24 3/4	24 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
25 1/4	25 1/4	25 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
25 1/2	25 1/2	25 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
25 3/4	25 3/4	25 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
26 1/4	26 1/4	26 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
26 1/2	26 1/2	26 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
26 3/4	26 3/4	26 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
27 1/2	27 1/2	27 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
27 3/4	27 3/4	27 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
28 1/4	28 1/4	28 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
28 1/2	28 1/2	28 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
28 3/4	28 3/4	28 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
29 1/4	29 1/4	29 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
29 1/2	29 1/2	29 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
29 3/4	29 3/4	29 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
30 1/4	30 1/4	30 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
30 1/2	30 1/2	30 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
30 3/4	30 3/4	30 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
31 1/4	31 1/4	31 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
31 1/2	31 1/2	31 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
31 3/4	31 3/4	31 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
32 1/4	32 1/4	32 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
32 1/2	32 1/2	32 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
32 3/4	32 3/4	32 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
33 1/4	33 1/4	33 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
33 1/2	33 1/2	33 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
33 3/4	33 3/4	33 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
34 1/4	34 1/4	34 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
34 1/2	34 1/2	34 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
34 3/4	34 3/4	34 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
35 1/4	35 1/4	35 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
35 1/2	35 1/2	35 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
35 3/4	35 3/4	35 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
36 1/4	36 1/4	36 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
36 1/2	36 1/2	36 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
36 3/4	36 3/4	36 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
37 1/4	37 1/4	37 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
37 1/2	37 1/2	37 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
37 3/4	37 3/4	37 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
38 1/4	38 1/4	38 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
38 1/2	38 1/2	38 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
38 3/4	38 3/4	38 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
39 1/4	39 1/4	39 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
39 1/2	39 1/2	39 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
39 3/4	39 3/4	39 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
40 1/4	40 1/4	40 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
40 1/2	40 1/2	40 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
40 3/4	40 3/4	40 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
41 1/4	41 1/4	41 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
41 1/2	41 1/2	41 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
41 3/4	41 3/4	41 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
42 1/4	42 1/4	42 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
42 1/2	42 1/2	42 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
42 3/4	42 3/4	42 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
43 1/4	43 1/4	43 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
43 1/2	43 1/2	43 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
43 3/4	43 3/4	43 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
44 1/4	44 1/4	44 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
44 1/2	44 1/2	44 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
44 3/4	44 3/4	44 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
45 1/4	45 1/4	45 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
45 1/2	45 1/2	45 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
45 3/4	45 3/4	45 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
46 1/4	46 1/4	46 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
46 1/2	46 1/2	46 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
46 3/4	46 3/4	46 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
47 1/4	47 1/4	47 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
47 1/2	47 1/2	47 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
47 3/4	47 3/4	47 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
48 1/4	48 1/4	48 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
48 1/2	48 1/2	48 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
48 3/4	48 3/4	48 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
49 1/4	49 1/4	49 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
49 1/2	49 1/2	49 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
49 3/4	49 3/4	49 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
50 1/4	50 1/4	50 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
50 1/2	50 1/2	50 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
50 3/4	50 3/4	50 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
51 1/4	51 1/4	51 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
51 1/2	51 1/2	51 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
51 3/4	51 3/4	51 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
52 1/4	52 1/4	52 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
52 1/2	52 1/2	52 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
52 3/4	52 3/4	52 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
53 1/4	53 1/4	53 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
53 1/2	53 1/2	53 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
53 3/4	53 3/4	53 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
54 1/4	54 1/4	54 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
54 1/2	54 1/2	54 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
54 3/4	54 3/4	54 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
55 1/4	55 1/4	55 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
55 1/2	55 1/2	55 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
55 3/4	55 3/4	55 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
56 1/4	56 1/4	56 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
56 1/2	56 1/2	56 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
56 3/4	56 3/4	56 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
57 1/4	57 1/4	57 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
57 1/2	57 1/2	57 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
57 3/4	57 3/4	57 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
58 1/4	58 1/4	58 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
58 1/2	58 1/2	58 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
58 3/4	58 3/4	58 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
59 1/4	59 1/4	59 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
59 1/2	59 1/2	59 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
59 3/4	59 3/4	59 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
60 1/4	60 1/4	60 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
60 1/2	60 1/2	60 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
60 3/4	60 3/4	60 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
61 1/4	61 1/4	61 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
61 1/2	61 1/2	61 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
61 3/4	61 3/4	61 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
62 1/4	62 1/4	62 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
62 1/2	62 1/2	62 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
62 3/4	62 3/4	62 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
63 1/4	63 1/4	63 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
63 1/2	63 1/2	63 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
63 3/4	63 3/4	63 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
64 1/4	64 1/4	64 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
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64 3/4	64 3/4	64 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
65 1/4	65 1/4	65 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
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65 3/4	65 3/4	65 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
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66 3/4	66 3/4	66 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
67 1/4	67 1/4	67 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
67 1/2	67 1/2	67 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
67 3/4	67 3/4	67 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
68 1/4	68 1/4	68 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
68 1/2	68 1/2	68 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
68 3/4	68 3/4	68 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
69 1/4	69 1/4	69 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
69 1/2	69 1/2	69 1/2	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
69 3/4	69 3/4	69 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
70 1/4	70 1/4	70 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
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70 3/4	70 3/4	70 3/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
71 1/4	71 1/4	71 1/4	+1/8	Conoco	0.00	1.1
71 1/2	71 1/2	71 1/2	+1/8	Conoco		

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Dev	Yrs	High	Low	Close	Change
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447	17	14	17	17 1/4	-1/4
448	17	14	17	17 1/4	-1/4
449	17				

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هكذا من الأصيل

**CURRENT**

Values



















# DOING BUSINESS WITH CHINA



The sleeping giant wakes — and shops. Here, a mall in Shenzhen, Guangdong province.



## MAJOR NAMES, BIG NUMBERS, HIGH STAKES

FOREIGN investment and trade in China are poised to reach new heights this year, building on the astonishing growth of the last two years.

The value of overseas investment actually used rocketed 150 percent in 1992 to \$11 billion, and leapt 135 percent last year to reach \$25.8 billion.

Exports gained 18 percent in 1992 and 8 percent in 1993, reaching \$91.8 billion last year. Imports hit \$104 billion last year, adding 29 percent to the 26.4 percent rise in 1992.

Stunning growth was fueled by a new wave of reforms, which opened the

foreign technology, capital and management skills, offering partial ownership and an entry into the domestic market in return. The size and market reach of such large potential partners is attracting more multinationals.

There are obstacles, to be sure, including the possibility of a strict credit squeeze later this year to cool off an overheating economy. But many overseas investors say more money will go into China and new types of projects will open to foreigners.

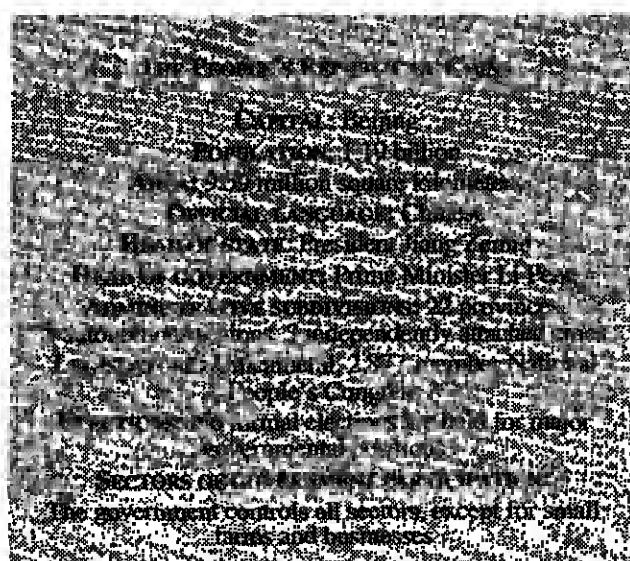
Masahiko Fujita, a director and vice president of the Hong Kong office of the large Japanese trading firm Marubeni, says there may not be a lot of big projects in the first part of the year as uncertainties over new Chinese tax regulations sort themselves out. He expects a jump in investment in the second half of 1994.

"China has potential because it has 1.2 billion people and its low living standard is rising fast," he says. "Other countries' economies are slowing down, including Japan's. Southeast Asian nations are short of manpower, so now almost everyone is focusing on China."

China's stunning growth, 13.4 percent last year, opens a wide range of opportunities, he adds. "We already have 30 joint ventures in China, and we'd like to expand to 100 very quickly." Japanese heavyweights such as Sharp and Hitachi are moving into manufacturing ventures with new enthusiasm.

American companies face the added uncertainty caused by the dispute over U.S. renewal in June of China's most-favored-nation trading status.

"But in general, U.S. firms take a longer-term view," says Frank Martin, president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong. "We receive literally hundreds of inquiries expressing interest in China. If we can get the MFN issue behind us, there's a good chance we'll see another surge in



### U.S. investment in China.

Infrastructure projects offer good opportunities for U.S. multinationals. AT&T International announced in early March that it had set up a joint venture which could take more than 30 percent of the Chinese market in fax machines, cordless telephones and other communications projects.

China is beginning to open other big infrastructure projects, including the construction and management of ports and airports. The major U.S. oil companies are lining up to explore the potentially rich Tarim Basin, which was opened to foreigners last year.

Securities firms such as Merrill Lynch are helping underwrite stocks offered to foreign investors.

European companies are active in the same areas as U.S. multinationals. In infrastructure, for example, Siemens of Germany is negotiating with Dongfang Electric Machinery Works to set up a joint venture making thermal and nuclear power machinery.

Yukong Ltd. plans to join other South Korean companies that are launching big projects. In March, it announced that it had reached agreement in principle with China Petrochemical Corp. to build a \$1.5-billion oil re-

finery in Shenzhen, near Hong Kong.

Some Southeast Asian countries complain that China is "stealing" investment from other countries in the region. Experts say, however, that any diversion of investment is outweighed by lucrative investment opportunities.

"The China factor will still be the driving force behind bullishness in the region," says Alex Tang, research director at Yamaichi Securities.

Since Singapore agreed to help set up an industrial park in the East China city of Suzhou last year, Singapore companies have signed some \$3 billion in letters of intent and agreements for projects in the park.

Hong Kong companies, mainly manufacturers seeking cheap land and labor, are the biggest investors in China. In addition, companies such as leisure wear and accessories maker Giordano are leading the charge into China's domestic market.

Trade is burgeoning as China implements reforms to prepare for re-entry into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. At the beginning of the year, China reduced import tariffs on 2,800 items and relaxed restrictions on import licenses.

Gene Linn

## THE BASIS OF CHANGE: ECONOMIC REFORMS

"THE Year of Reforms" is the brave slogan adopted by China in 1994. After 15 years of steadily chipping away at the old planned economic system, this year is to see introduction of fundamental reforms in banking, monetary policies, taxation and enterprises intended to build the foundation of a market economy.

Foreign experts generally give China an "A" for intentions, but expect the grade for implementation will be lower — at least in the short run.

"The reforms are overly ambitious to start with," says Ian Perkin, the chief economist of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce. "It reflects a bit of naïveté that's probably a holdover from the old command economy when you gave an order and everyone stuck with it."

One of the main problems with implementation will be opposition from powerful regional and economic interests.

"In the previous 10 years, everybody gained from reforms," says Vincent Chan, senior economist at Peregrine Brokerage. "Basically, the central government just relaxed control and gave local governments more autonomy. But now, some people will have to give and some will take."

Those who may be asked to give the most are the approximately 100 million employees of state companies.

Thousands of state enterprises are to become shareholding companies. In many cases, some of the shareholders will be foreign companies that can inject capital, technology and management skills.

Enterprises are to lose state subsidies, but generally will be allowed to charge higher prices for their products as price controls are lifted. The hoped-for overall result will be lean, mean corporations.

Perhaps too lean and mean. Efficiency will require paring bloated staffs and cutting the comprehensive welfare benefits given to most employees of state en-

Continued on page 14

## STEERING THE COURSE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

CHINA'S world-beating economic growth may be too much of a good thing this year. The stunning growth that has ignited enthusiasm about the domestic market is in danger of spinning out of control.

Government attempts to blunt soaring growth could cause a hard landing. A moderate slowdown, however, could keep the economy's extraordinary momentum intact by leading to a soft landing.

Chinese leaders are now circling the airfield, preparing to bring the economy down easily. At the recent session of the National People's Congress (NPC), they adopted economic targets that are still high, but well below recent marks.

Real gross domestic product growth catapulted 12.8 percent in 1992 and jumped 13.4 percent in 1993. The NPC goal for this year: 9 percent. Investment in fixed assets, which has fueled recent spectacular growth, is to grow at 10 percent after jumping 50 percent in 1993. The sharp drop in fixed assets is designed to stem a dangerously steep rise in prices. The NPC aims to bring inflation down from 14.5 percent in 1993 to the single digits this year.

The process of lowering economic expectations looks familiar to Anthony Chester Chan, regional economist for Mees-Pierson Securities.

Just as they did last year, Chinese leaders came out around the first of the year with strong statements about the need to slow down growth. In March, the NPC set conservative targets.

Continued on page 18

## AIR TRANSPORT NEEDS FLEETS, TECHNOLOGY, SECURITY

AIR travel across China is growing at a phenomenal rate, with new airlines forming and established carriers adding new routes. Traffic is growing at 25 percent to 35 percent a year, and the number of flights is expected to reach 6,000 a week by the end of the year.

The result has been a bonanza for Western manufacturers as Chinese airlines soap up multimillion-dollar jetliners as though they were model airplanes.

A recent Chase Manhattan Bank report estimates that China could spend \$90 billion on 1,200 new aircraft by 2010. But Beijing is now going beyond merely buying foreign aircraft and parts. Aviation consultants say that China will have to seek Western aviation and communications technology as well as reservations, management and security systems for many years. In addition, the expanding industry urgently needs to train pilots, air-traffic controllers and airframe, engine and electronics engineers.

Western companies have already made inroads into the industry. Seattle's Boeing Co. is strengthening its relationship by establishing a spare-parts warehouse at Beijing International Airport and support facilities at 12 other airports. The company has been most successful in selling aircraft to China; 14 percent of the jettin-

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60% of joint ventures are already posting profits

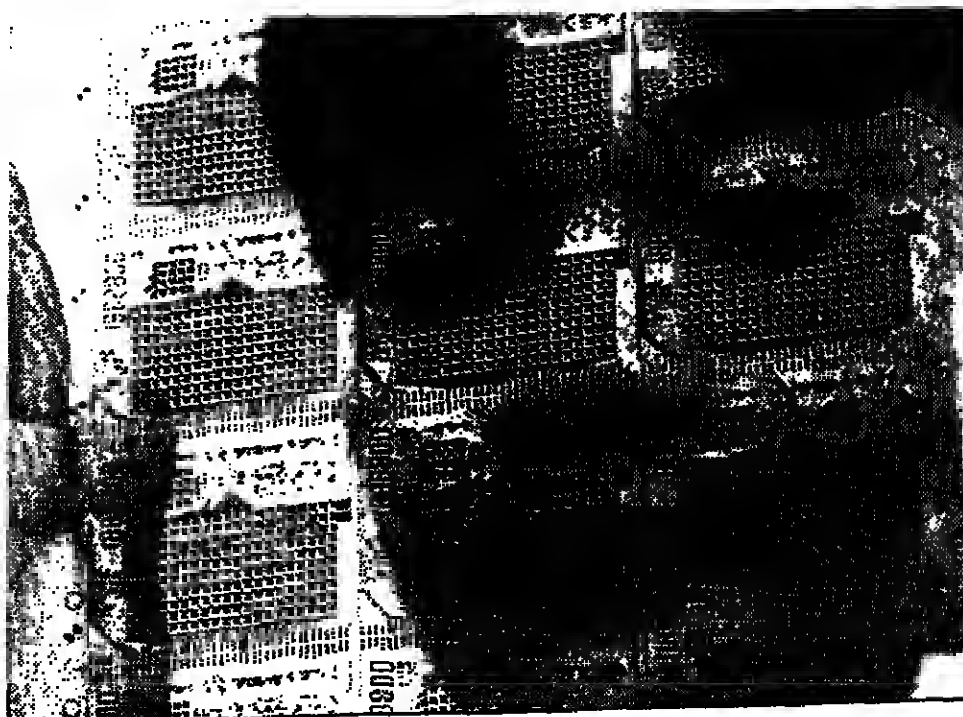
country for foreign stockbrokers, retailers and other businesses.

Preferential policies established in the 1980s to lure foreign investment began to spread from their beachhead in coastal special economic zones and large cities. Inland cities such as Wuhan are attracting more investment. China reported that 155 of the top 200 foreign-funded manufacturing ventures, ranked by sales volume, were profitable in 1992. Overall, some 60 percent of joint ventures are already posting profits.

This year, China is introducing ambitious banking and tax reforms to try to improve macroeconomic control and smooth out the damaging boom-and-bust economic cycle.

Big, inefficient state-owned enterprises, a major drag on the economy, are aggressively trying to attract

The new face of China is one of galloping modernization, as manufacturing and consumer goods find fresh niches.



PATRICK MACANISHI/LUCERO

THIS ADVERTISING SECTION WAS PRODUCED IN ITS ENTIRETY BY THE SUPPLEMENTS DIVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE'S ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT. • IT WAS WRITTEN BY JOHN COLMEY, GENE LINN, MICHAEL MACKAY, GARRY MARCHANT AND WHITNEY MASON IN HONG KONG, AND WILLIAM BRENT AND NICK DRIVER IN BEIJING.



## ADVERTISING SECTION

AUTOMAKERS GEAR UP  
FOR THE FAST LANE

For decades, the favored Chinese modes of transportation have been the bicycle, the bullock cart and the electric bus. Not anymore, say foreign automakers. The Chinese have discovered the car.

To be sure, the day when Beijing will experience Bangkok's traffic jams is a long way off. At the end of last year, there were only a little more than a million cars across the country. Still, that is 250,000 more than the year before, and the promise of growth alone is enough to make automakers put their foot to the floor.

"The motorization of China is happening so quickly," says Eric Carlson, Volkswagen's strategic market manager in Asia. "The kind of development that took place in the U.S. over 50 years is compressed into 10 years in China."

The number of cars produced and sold last year by the seven foreign au-

tomakers were bought by joint ventures and government officials.

The number of imports is hard to judge due to smuggling, but Mr. Carlson guesses that over 100,000 cars were brought in last year. Mercedes-Benz, which has five companies in China importing cars for the luxury market, refuses to release sales figures.

Terence Cheng, marketing manager of MD Motors, sole distributor for Rolls-Royce in China, says they must be doing well. He was quite happy to sell 20 Rolls-Royces on the mainland in 1993, 10 more than the year before. BMW also imported 200 cars. "The market is growing for us," says Mr. Cheng. "The Chinese want luxury cars to show their status."

Importers, including luxury carmakers, could be hurt by tax reforms introduced in January. Before, foreign joint ventures were allowed to import cars duty-free. The permitted number was determined by the venture's capitalization. Since the change, importers can buy as many as they want, but will have to pay a 110 percent duty for small cars, 150 percent for larger ones.

Another determinant of sales is local content. Short of foreign currency, Beijing frowns on imports of all kinds and limits production — all cars produced are sold — according to the percentage of local materials incorporated. Volkswagen hopes to keep its edge when it produces its first Santana, designed in-house, next year. Local content will be a high 80 percent.

China has just unveiled plans to build a new industrial park, dedicated to building 100 percent local-content cars, in booming Shenzhen. It will invite Korean and Japanese companies to take part in production, with an initial goal of building 50,000 vehicles.

While the numbers seem tiny, the focus is on the future, when the number of private owners will outstrip official purchases. Based on their experience in other developing countries, carmakers say private demand reaches a critical mass when the per capita income reaches about \$5,000 per person.

In China, that is due to happen around 2005. At the current rate — total sales should hit about 1 million a year by 1997 — private buyers will make up the largest segment of the market early in the next century.

"It's a critical time now for carmakers in China," says Mr. Carlson. "Style, fashion and technology must be in parity with other car markets around the world."

John Colmeley



Western aircraft makers and computer manufacturers are getting in on the ground floor.

## FOREIGN INVESTMENT: THE THIRD WAVE

WHEN American aircraft maker McDonnell Douglas Corp. first announced in 1987 its plans to build planes in a Shanghai joint venture, most analysts considered it the height of foolishness. The company has since signed a contract for \$9 billion worth of planes, and the same analysts are calling Garath Chang, the man behind the move into China, a visionary.

With China's potential consumer market of 1.16 billion people and an economic growth rate of 13 percent last year, almost any company or corporation operating internationally is buying into that same vision. As a result, say analysts, China is now experiencing the third and largest wave of foreign investment since the country opened its doors in the early 1970s.

"In the late 1970s, there was a lot of hype, but not a lot of investment," says a director at Peregrine Investments in Hong Kong, of the first wave. Much of that was aimed at property and small manufacturing projects for export. Western companies that went in tried to avoid investing any capital.

He says the second wave consisted of Asian investors, both companies and tycoons. Their focus was on buying factories, largely in southern China, to export textiles, toys and other consumer goods. "They waited until the late 1980s," he says, "and bought cheap after the Tiananmen Square incident."

Next and last came the large institutional investors, who last year began pouring funds into China's emerging stock markets and infrastructure projects. They are also raising funds to make direct investments in factories, or on behalf of clients who want to establish a strong market position.

quickly. "Before, most investments you heard about were \$1 million to \$5 million, max," says Sonja Jong, an investment analyst at Mees-Pierson Securities. "These days that's nothing."

Investments of more than \$50 million are becoming common now. For example, Peregrine recently raised \$100 million to help American Standard buy several Chinese factories to manufacture ceramic and sanitary bathroom products. AT&T recently invested \$50 million in a telecommunication venture. This year alone, Coca-Cola Co. announced it will spend \$150 million on five new Chinese plants, with plans to increase that to 23 by 1996. "The third wave," says the Peregrine director, "will dwarf the first two waves."

It already has. In 1993, foreign investors committed \$110.9 billion to 83,265 projects, almost double the 1992 dollar amount. Actual investment leaped 134 percent, to nearly \$26 billion. Investors from Hong Kong, Taiwan, the United States and Japan led the pack. European countries are catching up fast.

Ms. Jong says investors, particularly from Western countries, have more confidence now. "Previously, they worried about nationalization. More and more people realize that is not going to happen." Nor are investors concerned that China's next leaders will reverse the economic reforms put into place by 89-year-old leader Deng Xiaoping.

"The market economy is well and truly in place," says Edward Old, chairman of Caltech China Ltd. "Imagining a complete turnaround is totally implausible." He says that as China moves toward the next century, there are bound to be highs and lows, as there are on any graph

that depicts change. In China's case, he says, "the direction of these points along the graph are firmly established. They are going up, and going up quick. Anyone who wants to be a player in Asia has to be in China."

According to Nick Ni, an economist with Nomura Research in Hong Kong, the most promising sector right now is finance, followed by infrastructure, manufacturing and retail. He says that China's financial reforms, introduced last year, are currently focusing on the banking system. Encouragement of participation of foreign banks is one priority, in everything from building railroads to raising funds for state enterprises on international stock markets. Increasing the involvement of foreign brokerages in the country's two stock markets is another priority.

In Shanghai, which is fast regaining its status as a major financial center, there are currently 22 foreign banks, and more on the way — as soon as they are allowed. Trade finance is the main activity. Although banks are restricted to offering foreign-currency services, largely for foreign companies and joint ventures, analysts say they could be allowed into the local currency market in three to five years.

Brokerage houses also hope to be allowed to trade in A- and B-share companies, instead of B-shares only, in the next few years. For both businesses, the focus is on carving out niches in the industry and cultivating *guanxi* (relationships). "Experience tells us that once a sector in China is promoted by the government, the early bird catches the worm," says Mr. Ni. "The latest trend in the financial industry."

J.C.

The automobile is beginning to supplant the ubiquitous bicycle.

tomakers in China increased 64.5 percent, to 308,000. Of those, Volkswagen, with its Santana (103,000), Jetta (12,000) and Audi 100 (18,000) lines, produced by its Shanghai joint ventures, has a clear lead over its competitors.

Chrysler came second. Its Beijing plants produced and sold 14,000 Jeep Cherokees and 36,000 Beijing Jeeps. Daihatsu was next with 41,000, followed by the French team of Peugeot and Citroën with 17,000 and 5,100 each. The overwhelming majority of

Berjaya is a Malaysian conglomerate which began in 1984 as a steelwire producer. Today, Berjaya has assets totalling over US\$2.7 billion, turnover of US\$800 million and staff strength of 13,000.

Berjaya's transformation into a diversified, growth-oriented company was made possible by Group Chief Executive Officer Tan Sri Datu Yusoff Yusoff's astute vision and strategic planning.



## STRENGTH IN DIVERSITY

well-developed and underdeveloped regions and nurturing them into thriving, self-sufficient communities.

While securing opportunities throughout the region, Berjaya focuses its main energies and resources on its core businesses: Construction, Manufacturing, Commerce, Finance, and Development. Berjaya's diversified portfolio includes:

- Construction: Building, engineering, and infrastructure projects.
- Manufacturing: Steel, cement, and other industrial products.
- Commerce: Retail, distribution, and trade.
- Finance: Banking, insurance, and investment services.
- Development: Real estate, urban planning, and infrastructure.

**CONSUMER MARKETING**

The Group operates a vast array of products ranging from household appliances to furniture, and from food and beverage to travel and tourism services.

The largest of its consumer marketing divisions is the Berjaya Group of Hotels, which operates a chain of hotels across the region. Other divisions include Berjaya Travel, Berjaya Food, and Berjaya Retail.

Berjaya Group also owns 50% of the Berjaya Group of Companies (BGC), which manages a wide range of products including food, clothing, cosmetics, and health supplements.

And Berjaya's subsidiary, Berjaya Computer Centre, develops and markets educational software.

**CONCRETE**

Since its inception in 1984, Berjaya has been a leader in the concrete industry in Malaysia. Its concrete products are used in a wide range of construction projects, from residential buildings to large-scale infrastructure.

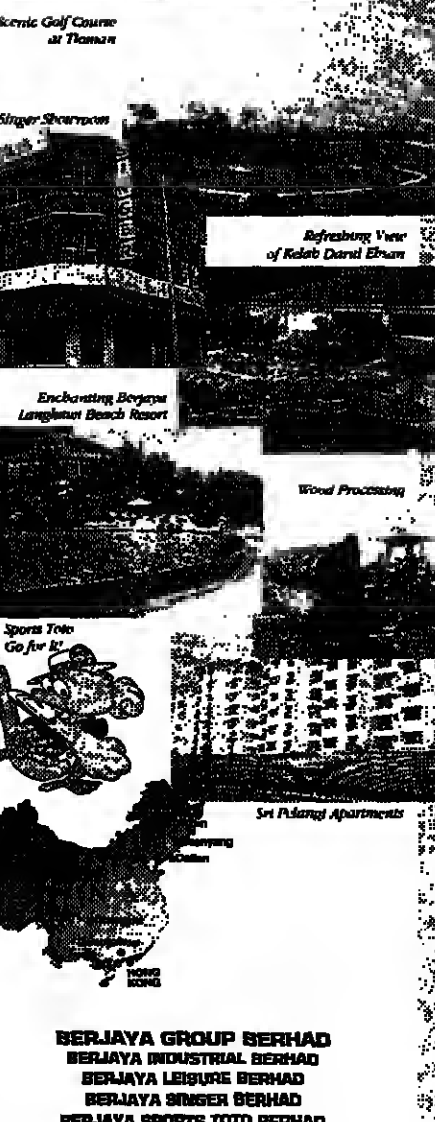
And Berjaya's subsidiary, Berjaya Concrete, develops and markets concrete products for the construction industry.

**MANUFACTURING**

The Berjaya Group operates a joint venture with a South Korean group, Hyundai Motor Company, to manufacture the first Malaysian-made, high commercial trucks for local and overseas markets.

**INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT**

Through an associate company, Indah Water Consortium, the Group has been awarded the concession rights to upgrade, maintain and operate a nationwide sewerage treatment system for Malaysia. The total project



For further information, please contact:  
Group Investor Relations  
Level 10, Shahzan Prudential Tower  
30, Jalan Sultan Ismail, 50250 Kuala Lumpur  
Malaysia. Tel: 603-2432622/2423155  
Telex: MA32411 BCBK. Fax: 603-2441334

**HOUSING, RESORTS AND RECREATION**

Locally and internationally, the Berjaya Group owns and operates the largest chain of hotels in the region. The group also owns and operates a chain of resorts and recreation facilities, including the Berjaya Golf Course and the Berjaya Beach Resort.

**CONSTRUCTION**

The Berjaya Group has a long history of successful construction projects, from large-scale infrastructure to commercial buildings. The group's construction division is a leader in the region.

**COMMERCE**

The Berjaya Group operates a wide range of commerce businesses, including retail, distribution, and trade. The group's commerce division is a leader in the region.

**FINANCE**

The Berjaya Group operates a wide range of finance businesses, including banking, insurance, and investment services. The group's finance division is a leader in the region.

**DEVELOPMENT**

The Berjaya Group operates a wide range of development businesses, including real estate, urban planning, and infrastructure. The group's development division is a leader in the region.

**MANUFACTURING**

The Berjaya Group operates a wide range of manufacturing businesses, including steel, cement, and other industrial products. The group's manufacturing division is a leader in the region.

**CONSUMER MARKETING**

The Berjaya Group operates a wide range of consumer marketing businesses, including food, clothing, cosmetics, and health supplements. The group's consumer marketing division is a leader in the region.

## FOR MANUFACTURERS, THE SOONER THE BETTER

IN the late 1980s, a small U.S. computer maker called AST started in China what is today one of the fiercest wars for a personal computer market in the world. AST began by advertising in Chinese computer magazines.

By 1992, AST had captured a quarter of China's \$1 billion computer market. In 1993, it launched a joint venture to build a \$16 million plant to produce 100,000 PCs. An IBM plant, built in 1990, is part of a plan to increase sales to \$20 million. A planned Compaq joint venture aims to produce 30,000 PCs in 1994. Meanwhile, Apple has developed a Chinese-language Macintosh. According to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, China's computer market will grow by 42 percent in 1994 and 1995.

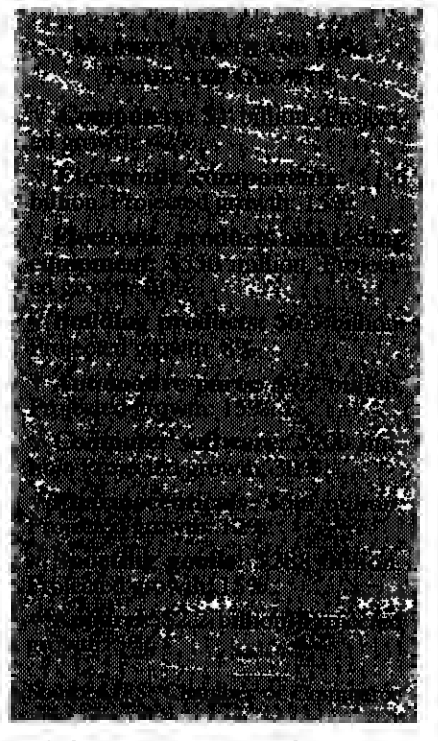
AST's success has many lessons for manufacturers who are looking toward China. First, patience pays off. Beijing's import-protection policies favor some production ventures more than others: usually those that are high-tech, export-oriented or use local input in their products. Once foreign companies are inside, those same policies can protect them; China often closes a sector after it is saturated.

That alone is worth it. With retail sales climbing 24 percent a year (higher in some places) and a savings rate even higher than that, China is the hottest consumer market in the world. Relative to Western countries, total numbers are still small, but they will not be for long.

After all, says Nick Ni, an economist at Nomura Research Institute in Hong Kong, "Every manufacturer is looking for a potential market."

This is only part of the reason manufacturers are rushing into China. Exports by foreign joint ventures jumped 45 percent in 1993, to \$25 billion. Total exports climbed 6 percent to \$92 billion. With the right partner in the right location, factories can be up and running in months. Foreign investment in manufacturing has traditionally settled in the south, where the toy and textile industries are concentrated. More high-tech producers are in Shanghai or around Beijing. Heavy industry has headed toward the three northernmost provinces.

In most cases, investors will choose one of the five provinces designated as special economic zones — Hainan,



Shenzhen, Shantou, Xiamen and Zhuhai — or the six cities where foreign ventures can engage in retail — Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Dalian and Qingdao. The economic boom, however, has led to competition among regions, provinces, cities and townships, with each trying to offer more to foreign investors.

Some trends have nonetheless emerged. "If you're Japanese, you will likely go to Dalian. If you're Korean, you will probably go to Shantou," says Sonja Jong, a China stock analyst at Mees-Pierson. "If you're Western, you will probably go to Shanghai."

Shanghai is clearly a current favorite. Last year, for example, the construction of 50 office buildings began in one small area alone in the city's Pudong development zone. Swiss pharmaceutical producer Hoffmann-La Roche is investing \$30 million in a joint venture in the city to produce vitamins, antibiotics and other drugs for the domestic market.

Ciba-Geigy, another Swiss pharmaceutical concern, which exports 75 percent of its output to Asia, plans to expand from one to three plants in Shanghai. It also plans to build five more plants throughout China in order to better service the domestic market.

Rising wages have tended to force foreign manufacturing to look for cheaper labor pools north of Shanghai and northeast to Dalian and Shenyang. Although wages are still cheap compared with Western rates, they are racing ahead of the 20 percent to 25 percent inflation rate. The price of factory space is also going up. That is not going to change.

Nomura's Mr. Ni says current wage rates for unskilled workers are \$85-125 a month in Guangzhou, Shanghai and Beijing, and around \$60 on the eastern seaboard. Other employee costs, however, such as insurance and housing, can double the figure. Still, says Mr. Ni, "Western companies aren't too concerned. The profit margins are too high."

How does a company get into China to export or sell to the domestic market? A foreign enterprise can take the form of an equity joint venture or a cooperative joint venture. The retail business is the most difficult to breach, as Beijing guards it jealously.

Opening any type of foreign enterprise and ensuring its success is not easy. Laws are changing constantly, and China is, of course, still a Communist country, at least nominally. J.C.





Police officers in Empangeni restraining Inkatha Freedom Party backers as thousands demonstrated against upcoming elections.

## Violence Is Averted as Zulus Defy Arms Law

**EMPANGENI, South Africa** — Thousands of Zulus defied a state of emergency in South Africa's Natal region by carrying traditional weapons during a march on Tuesday, although the demonstration ended without violence.

But police officials said the death toll elsewhere in Natal and its adjoining KwaZulu black homeland had risen to 71 since President Frederik W. de Klerk declared the emergency last Thursday to halt political violence in the region.

The police said the Zulus paraded with weapons that included shields, fighting

sticks, machetes, spears and knives. The march was to back demands by Goodwill Zwelithini, the Zulu king, for a sovereign Zulu state. A similar demonstration in Johannesburg last week ended with more than 50 dead.

"We could not disarm them without bloodshed," police Major Margaret Kruger said of Tuesday's march, which was watched by heavily armed police with dogs and troops backed by armored vehicles.

### ■ Helicopter Is Shot Down

A civilian helicopter was shot down Tues-

day by unidentified gunmen over Tembisa, a black township northeast of Johannesburg, South Africa's private Radio 702 reported.

The radio, cited by Agence France-Presse, said two bullet holes were found in the fuselage of the helicopter and that its four occupants were chased by a hostile crowd after an emergency landing.

Colonel Eugene Opperman, a police spokesman, said that a helicopter had crashed into two houses in the township and that two of the four occupants had been taken to hospital with minor injuries. He said he had no knowledge of a crowd chasing the four.

## VOTE: KwaZulu Delay?

Continued from Page 1

to be reincorporated into South Africa after the vote.

In the two months since Mr. Buthe and the king began calling for a boycott, political killings have escalated to record levels in KwaZulu and its surrounding province of Natal, where factional fighting between the ANC and Inkatha has raged for a decade.

Mr. DeKlerk placed the entire province under a state of emergency last week, but the move has not stemmed the bloodshed. There have been 88 killings in the region since the regulations were imposed Friday.

South Africa's new electoral law empowers the commission — a

multiracial, multiparty body created to run this vote — not to mount the election in any part of the country where it finds that circumstances make it impossible. The commission also can invalidate returns from part or all of the country if it determines that voting has not been "substantially free and fair."

If the balloting were to go ahead in most of the country but not in KwaZulu, where about one-seventh of all South Africans live, the commission could certify the national result and order a new regional or subregional election to be held later.

But ANC leaders have consistently warned that to delay the balloting in KwaZulu would merely be pouring oil on a fire. They are expecting to win the vote in the homeland, and they warn that their supporters in KwaZulu will be enraged if they are not allowed to join the rest of the country in its historic exercise in universal suffrage.

The election commission is a nominally independent body, but one with a strong pro-election bias. One source described Tuesday's report more as an alarm bell than as a declaration of intent not to carry out balloting in KwaZulu.

But the commission is facing real procedural difficulties that will have to be addressed in the next three weeks. In its task force report, the commission noted that the KwaZulu civil service and the Zulu tribal authorities, who carry out some governmental functions in KwaZulu, are not providing the necessary assistance — in the form of buildings, manpower and telecommunications — to set up the roughly 1,000 polling stations needed for the region.

The commission also said the KwaZulu and South African police had not given assurances they had the manpower required to secure the polling stations during the three days of balloting.

Mr. Mandela said Tuesday night that the additional forces activated in the region under the state of emergency had not yet reached full strength.

## In Gaza, Relief on Both Sides As Deportees Return, Israeli Army Packs Up

By David Hoffman

Washington Post Service

**RAFIH, Israeli-Occupied Gaza Strip** — In the shade of a small fruit tree on the border with Egypt, the Ajour clan waited for hours Tuesday to get a taste of peace.

They chartered a bus and brought two dozen family members to the steel fence between Israel and Egypt, ringed with Israeli soldiers in bulletproof vests. The family was waiting for Riyad Ajour, a 33-year-old Palestinian activist whom Israel deported at the zenith of the Palestinian revolt four years ago.

His return, along with 50 other Palestinians who were exiled or became fugitives during the intifada, marked the latest in a rush of events suggesting that Israel is moving quickly to deliver tangible results from the peace accord on Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho.

While the deportees and former fugitives were being hugged, wrapped in Palestinian flags and hoisted on the shoulders of celebrating friends and family, Israeli soldiers in Gaza were busy wrestling with box springs and dresser drawers. At the main Israeli army command post in the center of Gaza, lorries hauled away file cabinets and desks as Israel continued a frenetic pace of evacuating its military quarters in the strip.

"All of us are sure, the occupation will be over one day soon," said Talib Ajour, who served eight years in Israeli jails, as he waited for his cousin Riyad. "When you ask me, where am I from, I should have a passport to tell you. But I don't. I want my flag, my identity, my passport."

The Palestinian flags in Gaza are looking faded, and the portraits of Chairman Yasser Arafat of the PLO have disappeared. But the Gaza Strip has started to look a little bit less like occupied territory. Soldiers exuded a sense of relief at checkpoints as the huge trucks rolled away, carrying out the debris of the military government and army headquarters. One soldier grinned as he waved a truck on through at the Kissufim checkpoint, a small maze of concrete blocks. "Just call us the last refugees from the army," he said. "We're going home soon."

While the talks between Israel and the PLO on implementing the Gaza-Jericho peace accord are moving forward in Cairo, Israel is carrying out the evacuation without waiting. Command posts and olive-drab pillboxes are being carted out like so many toys.

According to Israeli officials, within two weeks most of the evac-

uation will be finished, although troops will remain in the field until there is a final agreement, and Israel still has to complete the transfer of civilian government to the Palestinians. Later this week, the first Palestinian policemen are due to arrive and take up their duties.

Only two months ago, Israel was saying it would not even begin the evacuation until all the papers were signed. But now, it appears most of the work will be done before the documents. One purpose of the rush is to inject some momentum back into the Gaza-Jericho process after the interruption of the Feb. 25 Hebron massacre. Also, last week's

killings of six Fatah activists in Gaza by Israeli troops cast a pall over popular sentiments here.

Last spring, Israel repatriated deportees from the 1970s and early 1980s, but many of them were older leaders who left before the intifada. On Tuesday, both here and in Jericho, Israel brought back street leaders of the revolt, who still carry influence. Although no one is sure what role they will assume, some Palestinians believe they will help bridge a gap between the youth still on the streets and the older leadership of the PLO in Tunisia, many deportees worked for the PLO there during their exile.

## CHINA: Arrest Puts U.S. on Spots

Continued from Page 1

to the Foreign Ministry and sought additional information on his status.

"If the report is true, we regret that the Chinese have taken this step," an embassy statement said. "In the best of our knowledge, Mr. Wei has only made use of the universal right to freedom of opinion and expression as set forth in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

From Beijing's point of view, a free and outspoken Mr. Wei poses a major threat. More than anyone else, the electrician-turned-activist has become the focal point for many democracy activists.

"We want to raise one flag and come up with one leader," said a dissident who was released from jail last fall and is based outside Beijing. "We think Wei Jingsheng is the most appropriate person."

Since his release from nearly 15 years in prison, Mr. Wei has met with other activists, granted interviews to foreign journalists, and written pro-democracy articles for Western publications.

In an article for the Hong Kong-based Eastern Express earlier this year, he said using "persuasion and

education" to change China's attitude toward human rights was like a lamb trying to reason with a wolf. "It's not that the wolf doesn't understand reason, but rather the lamb isn't interested in discussing reason," he wrote.

The Chinese government faces series of anniversaries in connection with the democracy movement between now and June 4, the fifth anniversary of the Chinese Army crackdown on demonstrators. Amid widespread discontent over unemployment, rising inflation and corruption, officials are afraid that any commemorative affair could explode into large-scale protest.

Because there is no concept of the presumption of innocence in the Chinese judicial system, it is likely that the next step would be for Mr. Wei to be charged, tried and sentenced to jail again.

Some analysts pointed out the wording of the Xinhuas dispatch on Tuesday left some room to meander because Mr. Wei has not been charged with any crime.

"They're going to wait and see how Clinton reacts," said Mr. Munro. "If he rolls over and plays dead, they'll say he has committed criminal offenses."

## MARKET: Wall Street Rebounds, But Investors Wary of Risk

Continued from Page 1

which had risen a full percentage point in the past month and made stock yields look increasingly anemic, ended their week-long fever. After finishing at 7.41 percent Monday, the yield slipped to 7.35 percent before the stock market opened Tuesday and finished at 7.25 percent.

This market activity also pushed the dollar up more than a penny against the Deutsche mark and by more than a yen as traders reckoned that foreign money would flow toward stronger U.S. markets despite the less favorable interest rates.

A series of factors fueled Tuesday's turnaround. First, bond traders came to work and noted that European bond and stock markets, after being closed for a long Easter weekend holiday, had reopened Tuesday with more equanimity than Wall Street about recent statistics showing strong growth in the U.S. economy.

"Europe may have sensed that the U.S. was

due for a rally," said Dennis Jarett, of Kidder, Peabody & Co., a disarming theory that transatlantic markets had decoupled and would go their separate ways — an explanation that few fund managers accept during turbulent market turns like this one.

Then the government issued its index of leading economic indicators for February, which was down 0.1 percent.

But few imagine this is the end of the market saga that began in February when the Federal Reserve Board reversed five years of loose monetary policy and began tightening interest rates. The problem is that no one knows when or how markets will bottom, and one reason is the amount of borrowing that had stimulated the demand for bonds has been unprecedented. No one knows how big it was, or how long it will take to unwind.

Neal Soss, chief economist at CS First Boston, said the unwinding of bond leverage, or loans, was not complete, and until leveraged

buyers return to the market, it's impossible to know the real level of demand for bonds.

"I can't see the bottom," Mr. Soss said, "and I don't think anyone will until some major event like a well-publicized failure tells us all that it's over because the banks have cut their losses and called their loans."

Hugh Johnson, of First Albany Securities, drew a parallel with Wall Street in 1962 — just as President Bill Clinton likes to compare himself to John F. Kennedy, who then was president. During the first six months of that year, he recalled, the U.S. economy was robust as it oiled its wheels and inflation was low, but the stock market declined by 27 percent "for no apparent reason."

"So don't be puzzled," he said. "The factors causing uncertainty in all markets are not easy to quantify and they range from the apprehension that inflation may be troubling in 1995 to fear that Clinton has yet to face his first foreign policy test. Maybe North Korea will be his Cuba."

## RUSSIA: Zhirinovsky and Friends Have Quite a Party POLICY: U.S. Hopes Fade

Continued from Page 1

that it is not going to bring any benefits to the country."

Whatever his prospects, Mr. Zhirinovsky's statements have become more outrageous, his boasting more grandiose and his targets more wide-ranging.

Yet the message is essentially unchanged. He continues to preach Russia's imperial imperative, milking national nostalgia for a great-power status that evaporated with the collapse of the Soviet Union. He has become expert at exploiting the wounded pride of Russians who feel that the last decade has left them poorer, weaker and more humiliated than they ever were before.

"Zhirinovsky — the Last Hope of a Cheated and Humiliated People" read one of the hand-painted signs on a wall at the House of Tourists, where delegates this weekend said they saw nothing wrong with his move to assume dictatorial powers.

"Our party without Zhirinovsky would not be a party," said Anatoli Baebich, 35, a ship's engineer from Kamchatka, Russia's easternmost peninsula. "Only a strong leader can save the situation in the country today."

If before Mr. Zhirinovsky laid the blame for the country's sorry condition at the door of the ruling "democrats" — as Russians refer to Mr. Yeltsin and his team of post-

Communist reformers — he has now taken to attacking the West, the United States in particular, as the witting agents of Russia's decline.

"The Americans are clever," he said. "They know it is better to come here with chewing gum, stockings, and McDonald's." That comment drew big applause from the delegates.

In his election campaign, Mr. Zhirinovsky had a promise for every constituency: more housing for the Russian military, higher pensions for old people, fewer taxes for business owners and more respect for Russian women. But since then, he has turned away from the mundane issues of government — the economy was barely mentioned in his speech on Saturday — and settled back on the nationalist themes that have served him so well.

Thanks in part to Mr. Zhirinovsky, but mostly to the mood he has crystallized, these themes have now become a fixture in Russian politics. A new anti-Western, anti-American tone runs through the oratory of the political opposition, from the Communists to former Vice President Alexander V. Rutskoi, who just this weekend accused Mr. Yeltsin of turning Russia into a colony of the West.

For all of Mr. Zhirinovsky's extravagant boasts of heading the largest party in the world's largest democracy, the Liberal Democratic

Party still does not look so sound like a party on the rise. It claims 125,000 dues-paying members, but its headquarters are still where they were before the December election — at the top of four flights of stairs in an old rundown building on a grimy Moscow side street, with a warren of dusty rooms, cluttered with copies of Mr. Zhirinovsky's collected works.

Flush with foreign publicity but pinched for money, the party has adopted a frankly mercenary approach toward non-Russian journalists. A half-hour interview with Mr. Zhirinovsky, which cost \$3,000 last month, jumped to \$5,000 in the week before the party congress because of the "great number of applicants," his press secretary noted. Even office workers have taken to billing reporters.

"Three minutes, one hundred dollars," said a woman in the anteroom to Mr. Zhirinovsky's office, citing the going rate for a chat with a party functionary. "Here, we charge for everything. What do you expect? You are only distracting us from our real work."

The New York Times and other American news organizations have routinely refused to pay Mr. Zhirinovsky for interviews, and he was not interviewed for this article.

Party still does not look so sound

like a party on the rise. It claims 125,000 dues-paying members, but its headquarters are still where they were before the December election

— at the top of four flights of stairs in an old rundown building on a grimy Moscow side street, with a warren of dusty rooms, cluttered with copies of Mr. Zhirinovsky's collected works.

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## ITALY: Berlusconi Halts Talks

Continued from Page 1

of emergency and democracy itself is at risk. Because the core of all this is that a party that is only one man can control television. And who will control the controller?"

Mr. Berlusconi owns three private television networks that draw almost one half of Italian viewers. The networks played a central role in an electoral campaign that lionized Mr. Berlusconi as the sole dominant personality of Forza Italia, which was founded only three months ago.

Mr. Berlusconi responded angrily to Mr. Bossi, even though he did not mention him by name when he spoke to reporters in Milan. "This is treachery. And what is happening seems a scandal to me," he said, accusing Mr. Bossi of "treating the electorate like goods to be bought and sold."

On hearing of Mr. Berlusconi's announcement, Mr. Bossi seemed somewhat dismissive. "This is rather strange," he said. "I think he has lost his nerve."

Even if the break between the two men does not mean the collapse of the rightist alliance, it underscores the abiding personal animosity between them and the political differences that make it difficult to see how they would work in tandem in a government.

Mr. Berlusconi raised the possibility of parliament being unable to

produce a majority government — a potential nightmare for Italy at a time when its political old guard, the nation's glue for over 40 years, has crumbled while its putative successors have fallen into dispute.

"If parliament, ignoring the outcome of the elections and ignoring the emergency this country, withholds its confidence, then the only thing will be to go back to consult the voters immediately," he said.

Apart from the personal differences between Mr. Bossi on the one hand and both Mr. Fini and Mr. Berlusconi on the other, the three are split on ideological lines.

Mr. Berlusconi denied that he had ever proposed himself as prime minister but said, "I would have no problem in standing aside if my candidacy were an impediment."

### Attack on Police in Corsica

Reuters

**AJACCIO, France** — Three policemen were treated for shock after a hand grenade thrown from a passing car exploded outside a police station in the Corsican town of Bastia, the police said Tuesday. Six cars in the parking lot were damaged in the attack, which occurred Monday night before the last of 14 Corsican separatists detained last month was flown to Paris.

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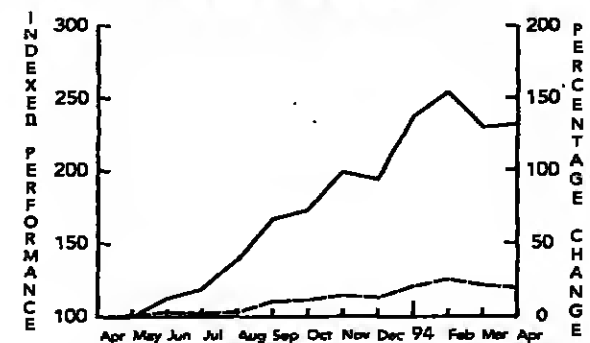
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## INVESTCO Fund Performance Comparisons

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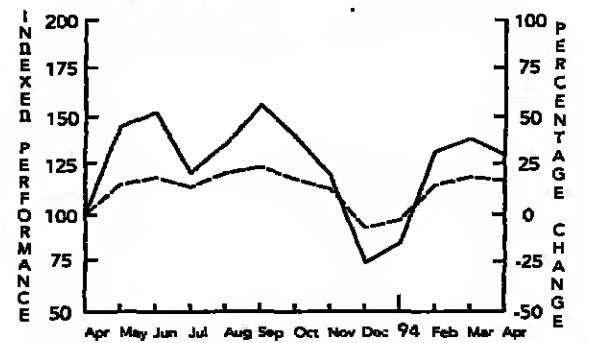


INVECO European Warrant Fund (U.S.\$) +130.82%  
MSCI Europe (U.S.\$) +19.05%  
Source: Micropal, offer-to-offer, no income (U.S.\$)

**FUND OBJECTIVE**  
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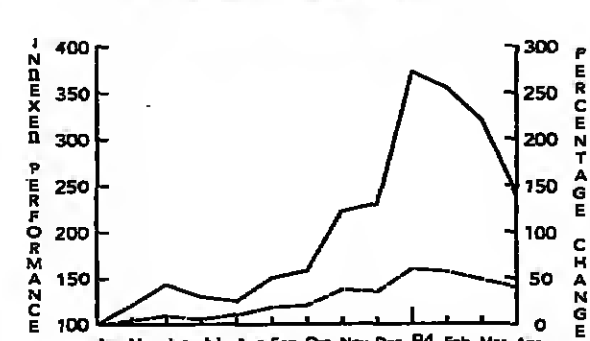


INVECO Nippon Warrant Fund (U.S.\$) +29.73%  
Nikkei 225 Stock Average (U.S.\$) +17.19%  
Source: Micropal, offer-to-offer, no income (U.S.\$)

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To provide shareholders with capital growth from a highly geared investment in the Japanese equity market by means of a portfolio of Japanese equity warrants.

### ASIA TIGER WARRANT FUND\*

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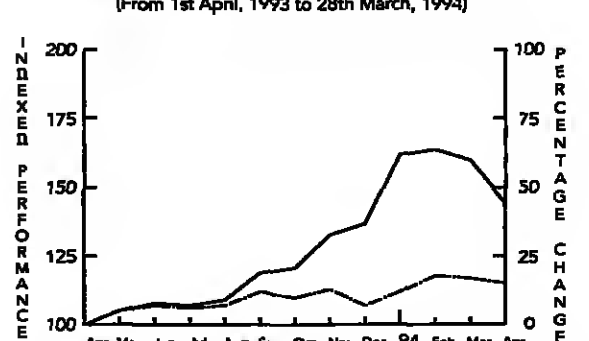


INVECO Asia Tiger Warrant Fund (U.S.\$) +146.89%  
MSCI Pacific ex Japan (U.S.\$) +38.17%  
Source: Micropal, offer-to-offer, no income (U.S.\$)

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# Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

## Algerians Need Dialogue

Beware of "enlightened" military coups. Two years ago, with a militant Islamic party poised to win parliamentary runoff elections, Algeria's army struck, canceling the vote, rounding up Islamic politicians and imposing an army-backed dictatorship. The West, led by Algeria's former colonial ruler, France, put its fear of Islamic radicalism ahead of its commitment to democracy and wished the soldiers success. Instead Algeria plunged into an abyss of terrorism and civil war with no end yet in sight. More than 4,000 people have been killed and many thousands imprisoned. Tens of thousands have fled abroad, mainly to France.

It should have been clear two years ago that an Islamic movement supported by millions of voters could not simply be crushed by military force. It should be clear today, but the middle ground for potential compromise has been much reduced.

Algeria's secular socialist regime was shocked by the success of the Islamic Salvation Front in first-round parliamentary elections in 1991. Low turnout and electoral fraud rules guaranteed an Islamic majority in the runoff. Wisely but in vain, then President Chadli Bendjedid argued that the runoff should proceed. His idea was power sharing, with a secularist president guaranteeing basic

rights and the Islamic Front operating within constitutional rules. It might not have worked out smoothly, but it would have honored the democratic process, and it could not have been worse than what happened after the coup.

Two years of violence have strengthened hard-liners on both sides. With top leaders of the Islamic Salvation Front in jail, the more radical Armed Islamic Group has launched a new wave of terrorism aimed at foreigners, unveiled women and even Islamic leaders who favor negotiations. Meanwhile, top army leaders oppose calls by President Liamine Zerrouk for a compromise peace.

France last week withdrew most of its teachers and technicians. Fearing the establishment of an Islamic republic just across the Mediterranean and the resulting flood of refugees, it has been urging Japan to increase economic aid to Algeria, hoping to shore up the military regime. But any such aid should be conditional on dialogue. The only choice left is between trying to negotiate with the Islamic Front and letting power shift in the streets to the Armed Islamic Group.

There were better choices two years ago, but Algeria's generals and their Western backers were not interested. Are they now ready to learn the lessons of that disastrous mistake?

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Consensus on Population

In September the United Nations will convene a huge international conference on population and development, for which planning has been under way for years. This week the final preparatory meeting for the conference, which is expected to produce consensus on about 90 percent of the matters to be taken up in Cairo, is being held in New York. Considering the diversity of the participants—including governments, international organizations and hundreds of private, nongovernmental organizations—it is remarkable that consensus on this issue, involving deeply held views on family, gender and religion, is a realistic goal.

The problem is easily stated: World population growth rates have descended from their peak in the '60s, but if current rates continue the world's population, now 5.6 billion, will double in less than 50 years. This has an enormous impact in the developing world, where resources will not keep up with demand.

The United States alone now spends about \$500 million a year on international family planning programs. The worldwide total is \$4.6 billion. But this effort is clearly not enough if sustainable development is to be achieved. It is expected that most of the Cairo conference will agree that the primary goal of international efforts must be to provide family planning services to the millions of couples who want but do not now have access to them.

At either end of the spectrum are groups with a different emphasis. The Vatican and some of the more conservative Muslim countries, for example, oppose contraception and

alternatives such as abortion and voluntary sterilization. A generation ago that position had more support than it does now. So while religious groups have every right to press their agenda and try to persuade other conference participants, it is unlikely that they will be able to derail current programs or block needed expansion. Feminists and other participants, on the contrary, will be pushing for a much broader effort designed to deal with issues outside the traditional service-provider model. They believe—and they are right—that the world must pay more attention to women's reproductive health matters in general. They emphasize prevention and treatment programs related to sexually transmitted disease and AIDS. They deplore the condition of women in many parts of the developing world and denounce barbaric practices such as female genital mutilation. They want to devote more resources to the education of girls, which is a certain route to smaller families and improved status for women.

The only problem for the conferees in addressing these admirable objectives is money. The pie is not yet large enough even to cover family planning needs. Everyone can agree that progress should be made on all fronts, but the delegates will be debating not only the need for more resources but also the priorities that must be set in light of current limitations. The New York sessions will focus attention on these goals and should provide momentum toward achieving them.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

## Foreign Policy Spokesman?

Even as they edge toward the peace table, Bosnia's Serbs continue to kill people in the course of grabbing further territory and "cleansing" it of non-Serbs. These atrocities are going on now in several cities, including Gorazde, a town, mind, that the United Nations Security Council has designated as a "safe area." And what is the American response to the possibility of saving mostly Muslim Gorazde and Prijedor, also under siege, from this fate? Says Secretary of Defense William Perry: "We will not enter the war to stop that from happening."

From an earlier exchange with the secretary, we are aware that he sees virtue—in winning public confidence, to prevent "mission creep"—in being explicit about American political and military means in Bosnia. But we continue to feel that he is taking an otherwise commendable devotion to transparency to uncertain lengths. The United States cannot confront every vile act by Serbs or others. But, as a global power on whose policies other nations calculate their own, it cannot afford to leave the impression that avoidance of force is more important than repudiation of the act. Such an impression converts a free pass for one misdeed into an invitation to the next. Could not Mr. Perry suggest, for instance, that "eth-

nic cleansing" is abominable? That Serbian defiance cannot fail to affect consideration of what is due Serbia in a peace settlement and of when sanctions should be lifted?

Part of the trouble here lies in the fact that, on this issue and some others, Defense Secretary Perry is speaking in something of a Clinton administration vacuum. He has an undeniable knack for policy explanation, and in his short term as Pentagon chief he has become the administration's most resonant voice on the always acute subject of the military implications of American diplomacy.

Nor has he confined himself to the military implications. In remarking on future U.S. policy in Somalia, for example, he told NBC News on Sunday: "I cannot imagine the political circumstances which would allow us to motivate us—to go back in and rescue Somalia again." It was a major policy statement of the sort that ordinarily would be made by the secretary of state or the president. President Bill Clinton is entitled to organize the functions of his government as he chooses. If Secretary Perry is to become a ranking foreign policy spokesman, however, he will be judged by the standards that normally apply to that crucial job.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

## Other Comment

### To Secure Post-Cold War Gains

I was called back from California before the Cuban missile crisis had been announced by the public to examine the data on Cuba to try to understand what it all meant. In the weeks after that, we approached a nuclear confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. It was my opinion that we were probably going to a nuclear war, and it was only with enormous relief a few weeks after that that we were relieved of that catastrophe. I have lived my entire adult life with a threat of a nuclear war hanging over my head. That cloud has been lifted with the end of the

Cold War, but it truly is a precarious lifting. What Russia and some of its neighboring states are trying to do today in terms of reforming their political and economic system has a very uncertain outcome.

There are 25,000 nuclear weapons still in Russia. It seems to me our first objective is to nail down the gains achieved with the ending of the Cold War and with the lifting of this threat of a nuclear holocaust. The best way we can do that is to help the Russians in the dismantling of these weapons, help them in the conversion of their defense industries, help them in the reform of the former Red Army.

—U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry quoted in The Washington Post

## Rebuilding Before the Nightmare Is Over

By Iain Guest

SARAJEVO — After a nightmare winter, spring has finally come to Sarajevo, bringing with it earnest talk of reconstruction.

A joint British-American team is here assessing damage to the infrastructure. Prime Minister John Major and his overseas development minister came to study the problem, and Britain has pledged \$18 million to help. The French are worrying about their companies may miss out on lucrative contracts.

Reconstruction, especially after a war like this, is a long and hugely expensive process that requires careful handling. Done well, it could begin

**Serbs and Muslims drink the same water, burn the same gas, use the same electricity.**

to heal the ethnic wounds and even reunify the city. Mismanaged, it could accelerate "ethnic cleansing" and perpetuate divisions.

The job will be enormous. Self-help and a remarkable UN relief operation have prevented mass starvation, but two years of siege have caused untold damage. Vast numbers of buildings, roads and bridges need repair. About half the city's hospital capacity has been lost. Sixty percent of the water system has been damaged. Sewage has backed up, causing hepatitis. All but six of the city's 34 garbage trucks have been destroyed.

The British-American team puts the immediate cost of reconstruction at \$275 million. The Bosnian government's estimate is \$5 billion. The human toll, of course, is even more disturbing. According to the nongovernmental group Doctors Without Borders, 5,200 Sarajevans have been killed during the siege, and more than 15,000 have been wounded. The list of the vulnerable seems endless: the 600 amputees, the rape victims, the broken families, the disturbed children. People's fierce determination to survive is giving way to anguish and bereavement. Never was a people more in need of sustained help.

Nimble footwork will be needed if the United

Nations is to mount the proper response. Somehow, development must begin even as the humanitarian emergency continues.

A new, weakened Bosnia will be unable to afford the heavily subsidized health system enjoyed by Yugoslavia before the war. The government's hopes of expanding primary health care could be undermined if the lifting of the siege opens the way to a flood of inappropriate drugs and expensive equipment. Careful coordination will be most important.

But the main risk is that the reconstruction of Sarajevo will proceed in the absence of a comprehensive political settlement for all of Bosnia.

The outlook in the eastern enclaves of Srebrenica, Gorazde and Zepa is grim. Gorazde is again under siege. In Banja Luka, deep in Serbian-held territory, the rape and murder of Muslims goes on daily. Muslim families are afraid even to seek UN relief vaccinations for their children.

The UN special envoy, Yasushi Akashi, and his military commander, Sir Michael Rose, have negotiated an agreement to open three local roads and a bridge in Sarajevo, a limited step toward freedom of movement and restoration of commercial traffic.

But it is a race against time. Authorities in the Serbian-held suburb of Grbavica have threatened to expel remaining Muslims if Serbs are not permitted to leave Sarajevo. Several Serbian doctors caught trying to escape from Sarajevo recently were beaten and jailed.

This raises the specter of what UN officials term the "Nicosia nightmare"—a permanent division of Sarajevo on ethnic lines, patrolled at great cost by the United Nations.

Reconstruction and politics necessarily overlap. The key in Sarajevo's recovery lies in its utilities—water, gas and electricity. But all the main sources lie outside the city and pass through Serbian lines. Technicians say the only viable solution is to restore utilities to their original prewar state. This means refitting the city's main water-pumping station at Bacevo, in

Serbian-held territory, as well as the city's pipes and reservoirs, held by the government. Reintegrating the city's utilities would benefit not just Sarajevo but the Serbs in suburbs like Grbavica.

But self-interest has taken second place to ethnic hatred in this war. The Serbs have blocked food, turned off water, reduced gas pressure and denied fuel to Sarajevo—knowing that the Serbian suburbs would also suffer.

The Bosnian government followed suit. It threatened to shut off gas to its own people in deepest winter in hopes that international outrage would force the Serbs to increase gas pressure. It refused to release badly needed water from an expensive U.S.-provided water treatment plant. One of the motives may have been to preserve the powerful image of suffering.

There will be no recovery for Sarajevo or for Bosnia as long as this sort of mentality prevails. Will peace be different? A senior UN official will shortly be appointed to coordinate reconstruction in Sarajevo. To be effective, he or she will need to be polite but firm—both with the city government and with aid donors. Aid must be used responsibly and directed to real needs.

But the real challenge will lie with the Serbs. Somehow, the Bosnian Serbs must be co-opted into rebuilding the city they destroyed, while being pressured to open up the eastern pockets and end the thuggery in Banja Luka. There should be no aid for Bosnia's Serbs and no lifting of sanctions on Serbia until they make a commitment to a reunified Sarajevo and to minority rights. To this end, the UN Security Council should consider deploying human rights monitors in the Serbian-held areas—something that should have been done when the fighting began.

The Serbs and Muslims of Sarajevo drink the same water, burn the same gas, use the same electricity. Peace, in the long term, can only be a cooperative venture.

The writer is assessing the UN relief operation in former Yugoslavia for the Washington-based Refugee Policy Group. The views expressed here are his own. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

## A Reconstruction Job for Italians, But Where Are the New Tools?

By Marino de Medici

WASHINGTON — A funny thing happened to Italy's "progressives"—the old Communists and their new fellow travelers—on their way to the modern Forum, Italy's parliament. They were denounced by a party that is not a real party and did not even exist three months ago.

Forza Italia (Go, Italy), the political movement created overnight by Silvio Berlusconi, the Milanese entrepreneur, won a relative majority. This is a stunning repudiation of the system that had ruled Italy for almost half a century. The Communists were the last part of that system still standing. They had widely been expected to win. But they lost big.

There is only one explanation for the sudden reversal of their fortunes. Italian voters, in their wisdom, correctly gauged the ex-Communists for what they are, a party that lives off the central welfare state and peddles the discredited fiction of bureaucratic regionalism.

Italians saw through the ex-Communists' new cover of progressivism and pegged them as the carriers of the very ideas and practices that had foisted corruption, patronage and inefficiency in the First Republic. Far from being a progressive party, the Communists, renamed Democratic Party of the Left (PDS), stood for maintaining big government—that is to say, the old system. They were thus a conservative party.

Whatever the future may bring, the Second Republic will be sharply different from the tired old bureaucratic machine that took from the general public and gave to the well-connected. This system was authoritarian and thus unresponsive to the needs and rights of the citizens, and it was incapable of satisfying legitimate demands with a minimum of fairness and effectiveness.

The electorate showed that it has had its fill of the finely practiced art of "consociativismo," the shameful "consociation" of the major parties. By that Machiavellian device, the

various parties of the political spectrum—from the Communists to the rightist "currents" of the Christian Democratic Party—engaged in spiraling political warfare on the public scene, while carefully sharing the spoils of power among themselves in what Americans used to call the "smoke-filled rooms." The charade is over, as the Italian voters have made it unmistakably clear that this system's practitioners, including the Communists, are the past and not the "progressive" future.

Why did so many American observers not see what Italian voters saw? True, the Italian Communists promised to be good NATO allies, good members of the European Union and good economic and financial partners. Their representatives went to Washington in a steady stream to give words of assurance and pledges of cooperation, in a well-rehearsed show of reliability.

For some American observers, the choice seemed easy: Since Forza Italia had shaped a coalition with the former fascists, it had to be rejected outright. Unlike the Italians, those Americans did not realize that while fascism died 45 years ago, the Communists were bidding to consolidate a formidable power base in the country. Italian voters said "no" to that.

The future of Italy will unfold with political and constitutional reforms (on a federalist model, to begin with), the search for more advanced forms of solidarity, and a new relationship between the citizens and the state. Forza Italia may not be the answer to these pressing questions. It is a heterogeneous bunch, but it is certainly better equipped—intellectually and technically—to open up new avenues for the establishment of a truly modern Italian state.

The Communists did not recognize or did not want to accept the fact that the old Italian national state had ceased to exist as a structure that served the political class rather than the citizens. The hope now is that out

of the shambles of the ancient order, a new political structure may develop, based on real alternatives of good government and led by men of keen vision and intellectual honesty rather than invertebrate political tacticians. No matter how difficult the shaping

of a government coalition, the Italians have taken a big step forward.

The writer is Washington commentator for the New Rome daily L'Informazione. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

## A Balancing Act for Parties of the Left

THERE IS another lesson from Italy about the difficulties facing parties of the left: They need to prove they can change countries from the inside out without threatening to turn them upside down. It is a hard line to walk. If left-of-center parties promise too much change, they scare people. If they look too responsible, they start resembling the status quo. Italy's former Communists managed to commit both errors at the same time.

The ex-Communists had united practically all left-of-center Italy behind a program dripping with sobriety and responsibility. But Silvio Berlusconi brought the neofascists and the separatists behind his leadership and drove home a message of buoyant optimism. The left never recovered.

It was so afraid of seeming irresponsible that it looked down and timid beside Mr. Berlusconi's optimism. The Communists played Jimmy Carter to his Ronald Reagan.

The ex-Communists got into the preposterous position of being cast not as the party of change but as representatives of the old system. The ex-Communists' alliance included their old hard-liners—and so they got nailed for some of the left's unpopular views, especially on taxes.

Italy's new rightist populism can be scary. But as Italian progressives discovered, politicians of the center and left who run as the last defenders of the welfare state and the sober friends of modestly active government will lack the dynamism to meet this new right on equal terms.

—E. J. Dionne Jr. in The Washington Post

## Slain in New York, Slain in New York

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — Crime is going down in New York City. Crime is going down in New York City. Crime is going down in New York City. The police tell us so.

Say it out loud a few times yourself and one of two things will happen. You will get a chuckle from anybody who hears you. Or you will begin to believe it.

That's the tricky part. You may talk yourself into going for a walk in Central Park as night falls. Or, if you are a mother in a housing project, you may tell your kids that those loud cracking noises are cars backing-ford, so go play in the street.

The police say violent crime declined last year by 4 percent overall in seven major categories. A police spokesman says the department is "very pleased with the trend." The implied journalistic attitude is that the public is wrong because it has this crazy "perception" that the city is more violent than ever.

I doubt that many New Yorkers share any sense of pleasure. New Yorkers know that the figures are so desperately high that a drop here and there does not change the reality or quality of life in New York nor the accurate "perception" that the city continues to be unforgivably dangerous.

That is what police officials should be saying—or yelling. New Yorkers know that if crime continues anywhere near as high it will destroy New York's hope of remaining a place where people want to live, work, play, visit and create.

Right now, a case can be made that life in New York City is more

at risk than in some of the world's most ugly civil wars.

The report said that murders in the city were 2.5 percent fewer than in 1992. In the same day's paper was a dispatch from Haiti saying that 50 or more bodies were turning up in the country's capital every month, victims of a bloody wave of terror. If New York ever reaches that level of murder, the city will proclaim fiesta time. A 2.5 percent "drop" since 1992 brings murders to 1,946, about three times as high as in Haiti after, and 1,500 by gosh.

New York's murder total also turns out to be the number of people killed in each of the last two years in the civil war that is tearing apart Algeria.

In the 1930s and '40s, New York had about 300 murders, one-fourth by gunfire. The truth is that the streets have not been safe for non-criminal citizens for a quarter-century, when drug-induced murders, robberies, burglaries and other violence started the crime explosion.

Plainly, something important is going on in crime analysis. Crime is so dominant that New Yorkers are supposed to be pleased—at least not outraged—when the figures show that their city has close to 2,000 murders a year, 86,000 robberies, 112,000 car thefts and 99,000 burglaries.

They take us for fools, people who say New Yorkers should think we are making progress when only about 35 people are

murdered every week and we are down to about 1,600 robberies Sunday through Saturday.

But they are right; we are fools. We whine about tax money we have to spend on law enforcement, from street to court to prison. We permit perversion of our legal system by prosecutors and judges who bargain thousands of violent-felony pleas down to save court time. We begrudge money spent imprisoning criminal addicts and money to make prison at least of some use—no drug therapy, no parole.

We insist that the mayor has to cut the police if he wants to cut other departments. Yet, it does cost lots of money for lots of police to find and arrest criminals, but not nearly as much as the price of their mauling.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan has written about an American disorder, "defining deviancy down." That means coming to regard as acceptable actions we once regarded as acutely offensive, immoral or illegal. To me, that means a cop who sees a street drug deal and walks away, or a judge who bargains down a confessed killer's sentence.

Now, in the land built on democratic law and order, we are defining down not just criminal deviancy, but our own hopes and rights to public safety, the most elemental of democratic rights.

In New York, every day 1,600 crimes against people and property take place—those that are counted. If that is progress, then God help the city of New York.

The New York Times

## In Japan, No Longer Far Away

By Otto Lamsdorff

TOKYO — How far away Japan is, many of us used to think back in 1974, when the Trilateral Commission held its inaugural meeting in Kyoto, with the explicit goal of including Japan for the first time as a full-fledged partner in an international debate that had long been confined to America and Europe. How close Japan has become since then.

Closeness is often synonymous with quarrels. And trilateral relations today—barely four months after the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade liberalization talks—seem dominated again by severe strains on the trade front.

Between Japan and America in particular, these tensions have taken on the proportions of a full-blown family feud—a feud in which both sides' bluntness gives a paradoxical measure of just how deep the economic, political and human interpenetration among our three regions has become. But then, what of Europe and the Europe-Japan relationship in all of this?

We Europeans tend to marvel at the creations of Japan's ancient past, and we rejoice over the feats of the Meiji Era. It's time we devoted the same attention to post-1945 Japan.

In the last two decades, the European political and business community has largely overlooked the special role of East Asia and of Japan in the region. It has overlooked the opportunities offered by the dominance of Japan's exports in much of Asia; many countries view Japanese exclusivity and would like to diversify their trading partners. More important, Europe has tended to overlook Japan's long-standing drive toward greater productivity.

The result is that the European-Japanese relationship has often been seen as the weak side of the triangle. Indeed, foreign direct investments between the European Union and Japan amount to less than 5 percent of the total flow of investments among the three regions. Europe's trade deficit with Japan remained at a preoccupying \$26.3 billion last year, despite a slight reduction due largely to the European recession.

Thus, to a large extent Europe shares the frustrations vented by the Clinton administration and supports American calls for more open Japanese markets.

But many of us in Europe question the noisy and highly unilateral approach often favored by our American friends these days to achieve this end. To overcome our present difficulties, we need urgently to:

• Turn down the volume. Although much remains to be done, the fact is that Japan's markets are much more open than is commonly thought. To find a way out of its economic predicament, Japan is already having to reform its business and social ways in the Western direction, however gradually.

• Return to multilateralism. It might appear that strong-arm, unilateral tactics hold more chance of yielding immediate results. Yet in the long run these can only be self-defeating and inflict fatal damage to the international trading system.

It is particularly shocking to see separate agreements between the United States and Japan—the semi-conductors deal, for example, and the Motorola deal—being struck at the expense of third parties. Not only does this fly in the face of the painstakingly formulated rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, it is utterly inconsistent with any reasonable exports strategy.

What we now need, perhaps more than ever, is a "quiet forum" such as former President Jimmy Carter has thoughtfully recommended (IHT Opinion, Feb. 19). He was thinking of the U.S.-Japan Economic Relations Group, a small private grouping blessed by both governments, which did wonders in the '70s to lessen trade frictions. Such a forum, established on a bilateral and not a bilateral basis, could help us today.

The epochal changes of the last few years have not altered the fact that North America, Europe and Japan, with two-thirds of the planet's production, form the incontrovertible engine of world trade. As such, a trilateral framework of cooperation, gradually enlarged, remains the key to sustaining the welfare and security of all our peoples.

The writer, a former economics minister of Germany, is chairman of the European branch of the Trilateral Commission; the commission's plenary session for 1994 begins Friday in Tokyo. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

## IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1894: Desperate Mobs

NEW YORK — Howling, desperate mobs of strikers, composed largely of Hungarians, are parading the Pennsylvania coke regions near Pittsburgh. Ten thousand tons of coke have been destroyed by the strikers, together with the storage wagons and warehouses. Perhaps the most peculiar feature of the situation is the part played by the women. Bands of them are going about inciting the strikers to acts of violence; and there were several cases of non-unionist men having been set upon by women and left senseless after the attack.

### 1919: Socialist Unrest

PARIS — The recent acquittal by a Paris jury of Villain, who shot M. Jean Jaures, the Socialist orator, has caused a great deal of unrest and dissatisfaction in Socialist and working-class circles. The labor party looks upon Villain's acquittal as a class verdict. A big labor gathering

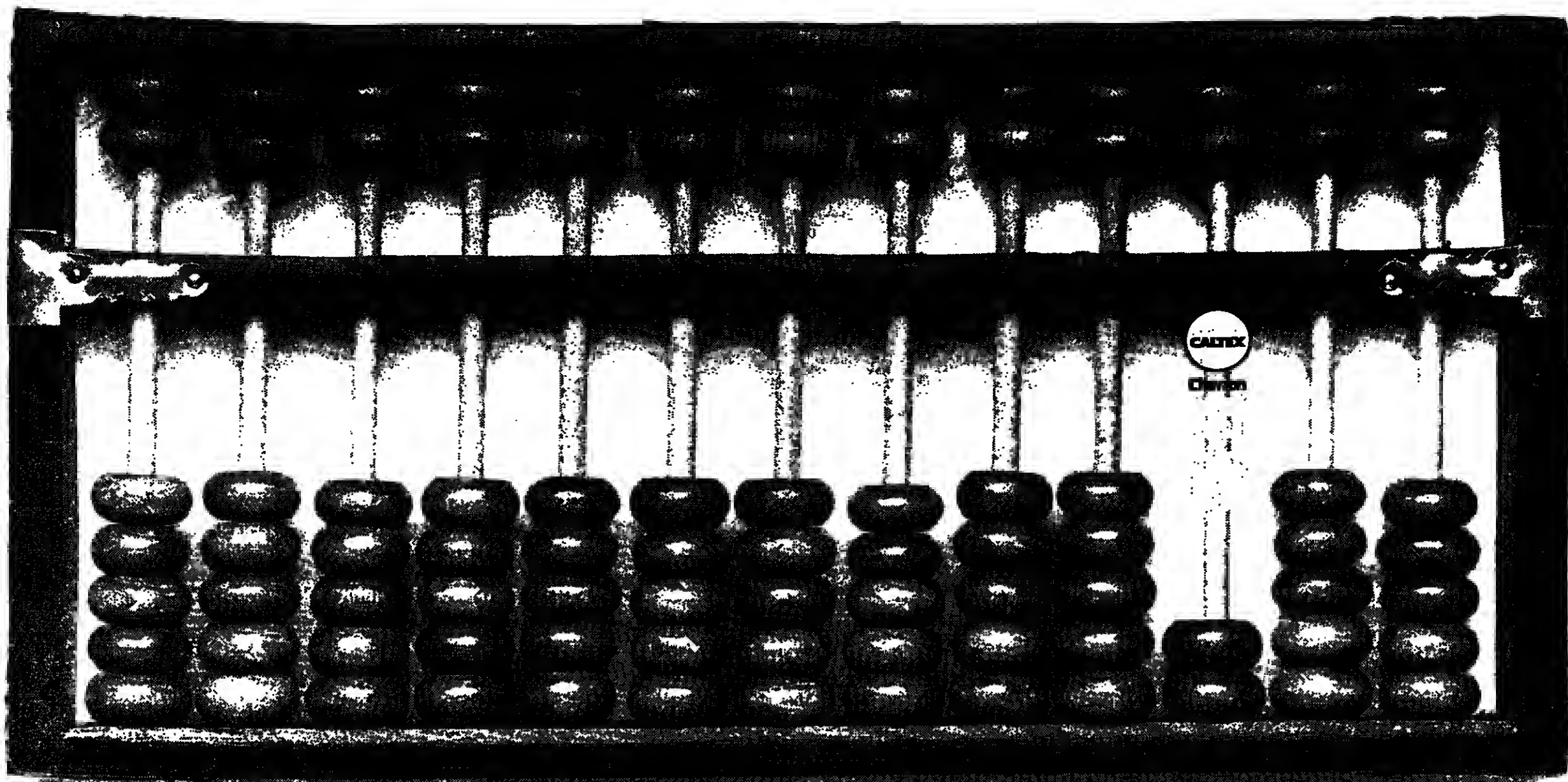
has been arranged for to-day [April 6] as a protest against the acquittal of Jaures' assassin. A delegation will call upon Mme. Jaures and her daughter at the Villa de la Tour, and at La Muerthe flowers will be placed in front of the bust of M. Jaures.

### 1944: Japanese Advance

NEW DELHI — [From our New York edition:] Increasing their pressure along the entire 200-mile India invasion front, Japanese forces have seized a fifteen-mile stretch of the Imphal-Kohima highway and are thrusting through the wild Naga Hills above Kohima within eighty miles of Dimapur on the Bengal-Assam Railway. American Army-operated lifeline into upper Burma. Japanese units previously were reported to have cut the sixty-mile road between Imphal, capital of Manipur State, and Kohima to the north, but today's [April 5] advances gave the first indication they had consolidated their hold on that supply link.

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Directeur de la Publication: Richard D. Simmons  
International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France.  
Tel.: (1) 46.37.93.00. Fax: Crc. 46.37.06.51. Adv. 46.37.52.12. Internet: IHT@eurocomie  
Editor for Asia: Michael Richardson, 5 Canterbury Rd., Singapore 0511. Tel. (65) 472-7798. Fax: (65) 274-2334  
Mng. Dir. Asia: Rolf D. Knappe, 50 Gloucester Rd., Hong Kong. Tel. 852-9222-1188. Fax: 852-9222-1190  
Gen. Mgr. Germany: W. Lauerbach, Friedrichstr. 15, 10023 Frankfurt/M. Tel. (069) 72 67 53. Fax: (069) 72 73 10  
Pres. U.S.: Michael Cunniff, 650 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022. Tel. (212) 752-3800. Fax: (212) 752-3805  
U.K. Advertising Office: 63 Long Acce., London WC2. Tel. (0171) 836-4903. Fax: (0171) 240-2254  
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## ADVERTISING SECTION

## POPULATION: YOUNG, MALE AND MOBILE

CHINA'S 1.17 billion people account for between a fifth and a quarter of the world's population. These are people on the move, according to population expert Ron Skelton of Hong Kong University.

According to Mr. Skelton, 100 million people are on the move at any given time within China, as the rural poor move from the countryside to the urban areas in search of work. This huge migration comes as China is learning to live with the consequences of its very effective birth-control programs.

After the first two decades of Communist rule forced down mortality rates, the 1970s and early '80s saw a dramatic decline in fertility as China became more affluent and more women entered and stayed in the labor force.

In the 1990s, according to Mr. Skelton, the hallmark of that population is "migration - unquestionably." He, like others, however, is keen to point out that this is not the only feature of note. "It's not a nice neat picture," he says of China's demography.

What China's mass internal migration will mean is still uncertain, but there are already some pointers to the likely consequences.

The population will become increasingly urban. Official statistics from 1992 already show an urban-to-rural ratio of 26 to 74. In addition, some 470.2 million people, or just over 40 percent of the population, live in the coastal provinces. The cities and the coastal areas are magnets for migrants.

This pattern can be summed up as "rural to urban and urban to urban," the latter meaning the move from smaller cities and towns to bigger cities.

Hong Kong businesspeople say that 10,000 people a day are trying to get into Guangzhou. They point out that 15 years ago, Shenzhen, the first special economic zone, was a small town of 30,000 people. It is now a metropolitan area of 3 million.

Says Mr. Skelton: "Suddenly, the dam has burst, and China is joining the rest of the developing world. Never has a nation modernized without mass migration."



The services spectrum is wide, ranging from street barbers to hotel health clubs.



## DEALING WITH A TRULY MASS MARKET

CHINA'S consumer market offers a huge opportunity with no limits on the products that can be introduced there, according to David Bottomley, managing director of Asian Commercial Research. He warns, however, that investors must undergo some "unthinking" or shedding of certain assumptions about emerging markets, before entering it.

Other experts point out that while the Chinese market will show an upward trend for some years to come, it is not without pitfalls. "Foreigners have to be very careful," says Mary Wong, assistant executive director of the Hong Kong Trade Development Council. "There are certain phenomena they should watch out for."

The basic advantage of the Chinese market is not so much its scale as the level of its potential pent-up demand. This demand is backed up by real wages that are increasing sharply in the urban centers as gross domestic product grows by around 12 percent a year.

Even in the rural areas, which are often poor and underdeveloped, there is some effective demand because basic like accommodation and health care are provided by the local work unit, leaving cash earnings to circulate. With 800 million people living in the rural areas, this is a less-well-off but still lucrative mass market - for the right product.

It is the 340 million people who live in the thriving urban centers, however, who are the mainstay of a retail sector that Hong Kong Trade Development Council figures show grew by 16.8 percent, to 1.1 trillion yuan (\$127 billion), in 1992. The council estimates that this trade increased by 24 percent in 1993.

This market is not homogeneous, and can be characterized as akin to those of Australia and the United States in the early years of the post-World War II consumer boom. There is pent-up demand for everything.

China, however, has a crucial difference. As Mr. Bottomley points out, "Everyone has television, so the vision of what life is like with a lot of consumer products is already there, as is the idea of respectability of money and possessions."

What, then, are the products this increasingly affluent urban market is eager to buy? Analysts point to two distinct trends. First, there is a move away from basic consumer goods such as refrigerators and TVs; in the

southern and coastal areas these are already replacement markets. According to

elery, pens, handbags and accessories. Brand names, however,

*Easy-to-care-for polyester garments could be big sellers in Beijing*

a Hong Kong Trade Development Council report, the next level of consumption will be "luxurious products and services." These are listed as "VCRs, large-screen TV sets, air conditioners, telephones, modern equipment for kitchens and sanitation items." Another sector that will "sell well" includes high-grade garments, food products and cosmetics.

The second trend is the willingness of Chinese consumers to pay higher prices for imported and joint-venture goods. Items that do well in this category are high-quality clothes and gift and travel items such as jewelry, pens, handbags and accessories. Brand names, however,

are the key to success with ambitious young private entrepreneurs who are looking for outward signs of their success. This is, in effect, an infant conspicuous-consumption market.

One of the best ways to become established in the market, say analysts, is to manufacture goods in China via a joint-venture company. Cheap labor can be utilized, and the problems of transportation are avoided.

The allure of foreign goods is nonetheless strong enough to encourage one Hong Kong men's clothing manufacturer, Goldlion, to produce in China, export to Hong Kong and re-export to China. "All in the hope of giving ties the right image," says one expert, who asked not to be named.

Mrs. Wong adds that easy-to-look-after clothes made from polyester or polyester mixes would sell well in the northern cities. M.M.

Demographic studies suggest that China's market

will favor youth-oriented products for many years to come.

Official statistics show that in China, the number of mothers with children under 30 months - around 56 million - is equal to the population of Britain, says market researcher David Bottomley of Asian Commercial Research.

That youth segment, however, has yet to make its real presence felt. Experts point out that constant large numbers of young people entering the population will work against the graying of China's population.

"Demography will prevent the emergence of gray power in China," says Mr. Bottomley. He suggests that the market will favor youth-oriented products for many years to come.

China has a small urban infrastructure at the moment, both in terms of the number of cities and the facilities in them. There is major concern about the ability to cope, simply because of the potential size of the cities.

Another imbalance that will become more and more apparent is the increasing male dominance of the younger population. It has been noticeable for some years that more males were being born than females.

China could well find itself dealing with a very distinctive and high-profile set of urban problems for most of the 21st century.

Michael Mackey



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## THE BASIS OF CHANGE: REFORMS

Continued from page 11

terprises. Millions of newly out-of-work former state employees could trigger social unrest.

Central leaders, who regularly stress that stability is more important than anything else, already this year have re-established price controls on many daily items and exempted state enterprises from contributions to funds for construction of energy and transport projects.

"A lot of reforms are being pushed into the future as the leaders concentrate on immediate problems, namely social unrest," says Mr. Perkin.

If state enterprises are not forced away from the public trough, it will be impossible to fully implement banking reforms.

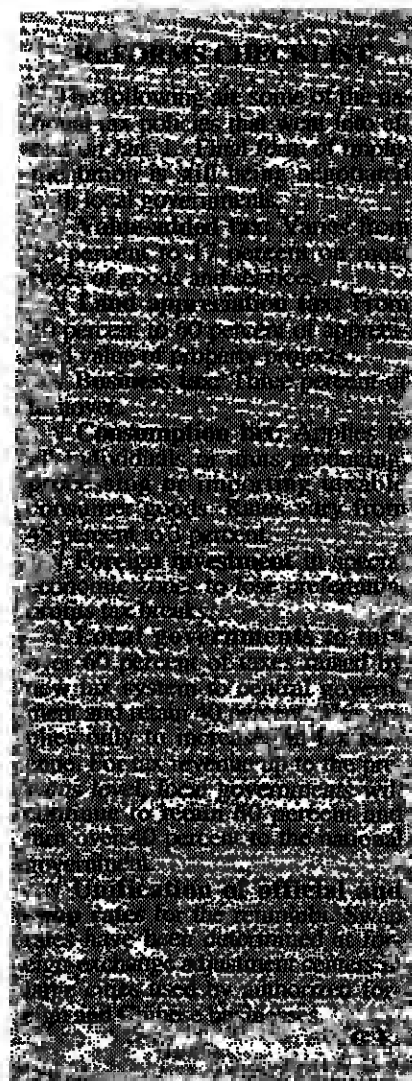
These reforms are designed to end the system in which banks were obliged to loan money to central and local government officials to support companies owned by the government.

Most banks are now to lend money purely on a commercial basis, leaving government-directed loans to so-called policy banks.

Richard Wong, director of the Hong Kong Center for Economic Research, says it will probably take time for government officials to resist the temptation to bully banks into providing loans. Another problem is that many of the loans already made to loss-making enterprises will have to be written off.

"With a balance sheet of bad debts, it will take a long time before banks have the resources to lend on a commercial basis," says Mr. Wong. "Nothing is going to change very dramatically in the next year."

An important part of monetary policy is the move to finance the budget deficit by selling bonds instead of by printing more money, which pushes inflation even higher. The government



has had to force workers to buy bonds in the past.

China also wants to take the central bank, People's Bank of China, out of the lending business to let it concentrate on monetary issues.

Reform of the foreign-exchange system will rationalize and tailor the system to the market, boost Chinese exports, encourage foreign investment and "serve as a useful first step to full convertibility of the renminbi," according to a study by the Hongkong Bank.

The bank says the risks of the reforms are higher than they would have been several years ago, when the swap rate was stable and there was little disparity between official and swap rates.

One of the main steps of the reforms was to abolish the official foreign-exchange rate and instead use the rate at swap centers that are used by authorized domestic and foreign businesses.

Tax reforms initiated on Jan. 1 are badly needed to let Beijing regain control over fiscal policy and to discourage speculative investments. But they have raised resistance from local governments, which see taxes diverted from their coffers to Beijing and fear that new taxes will reduce foreign investment.

The Land Appreciation Tax threatens to curb robust foreign investment in property development by imposing taxes of 30 percent to 60 percent on appreciation of the original investment.

The value-added tax of 13 percent to 17 percent will cut into the profit margins of many manufacturers and raise prices of goods and services.

Special economic zones are to end preferential tax rates for companies with foreign investment.

Some local officials have said they will apply the new taxes according to local conditions. The biggest impact of the new taxes so far is uncertainty.

"It's now a gray area, with everybody watching to see what happens," says Masahiko Fujita, a director and vice president at the Hong Kong office of Japanese trading company Marubeni.

G.L.

## BRINGING BUSINESS BACK HOME

THE first telephone in China, connecting two rooms of the Dowager Empress's palace in Beijing's Forbidden City, was installed by L.M. Ericsson in the late 19th century.

For a few decades following this auspicious debut, the Swedish telecommunications giant continued its chain of successes with a shipment of 2,000 phone sets to Shanghai in 1894 and China's first automated switchboard service in 1924.

After that, Ericsson kept in close contact with the Middle Kingdom through the long years of war and revolution, winning its first AXE public switching equipment contracts in 1981. Meanwhile, competitors invested in China, and Ericsson found itself frustrated in its efforts to reclaim its legacy as the pioneer in telecommunications in China. The great telecom prizes of the day - cellular systems and public exchanges - seemed to lie beyond its grasp.

Enter the "old China hand" consultants of XRC. The firm's three partners have roots in China as deep as Ericsson's. Principal John Hoffmann's family hails from old Shanghai; he studied Chinese politics at Harvard and worked for Rothschilds in China. The grandfather of Jay Chen, another XRC partner, was Sun Yat-sen's foreign minister. XRC's professional team brings together specialists for projects like reinventing Ericsson, on the theory that "the best China resources work for themselves."

Beginning in 1991, XRC completed a China assessment and, together with senior Ericsson managers in China and Stockholm, crafted a comprehensive China market strategy. Three years later, Ericsson has two cellular and three public switch joint ventures to date, plus a China holding company, and finds itself back where it started, at the forefront.

W.M.





## Can you sustain the engines of growth in China without accelerating an energy shortage?

**Yes, you can.**

China begins to release its vast industrial potential and ABB, as a world leader in electrical engineering, is already there, working with local partners to strengthen the infrastructure and update industrial processes. The Shidongkou power plant in Shanghai uses ABB's advanced super-heated steam technology to conserve 90,000 tons of coal each year. Two new ABB gas-fired power plants going up in Guangdong province will be the highest-rated combined cycle facilities in China. ABB provides the systems technology and equipment which *distribute electricity more efficiently, too, and make Chinese industry more*

*productive.* Control systems, electrical equipment and drives for new aluminum and steel cold rolling mills in Fujian and Sichuan. Process control systems for modern sewage treatment plants in Shanghai. Forty ABB mine hoists already operating will soon be joined by others in Anhui and Heilongjiang provinces and an ABB Master control system to operate an open cut mine in Inner Mongolia. On Chinese railways, travelers enjoy the comfort and convenience of ABB's International Coach, a simple, flexible railway car designed for low-cost local assembly, while in the south-east region, ABB is installing a complete train protection system to automatically control speed on 300 km of track. In China and throughout the world, ABB is creating flexible, efficient local solutions to help clients respond more quickly and precisely to technological challenges. Like bringing the world's largest market up to speed without draining its energy resources.

**ABB is an official sponsor of the 1994 China Summit meeting in Beijing May 11-13 1994.**

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**ABB**



## ADVERTISING SECTION

THE NEW, IMPROVED  
ADVERTISING INDUSTRY

HEADING into downtown Shanghai is like entering a corridor of conspicuous consumption. For long stretches, any view of the city is obliterated by billboards lining both sides of the road. They peddle, among other things, Italian shoes, American soft drinks and automobiles and a slew of new luxury villas catering to a rising class of wealthy Chinese.

As the country's market economy finds its legs, the advertising industry is holding aloft the banner of the new and improved China: "Buy, Buy, Buy." Chinese officials predict that advertising spending in China will reach about 30 billion yuan (\$3.5 billion) a year by the end of the decade. About 60 foreign agencies are already active in China, hoping to get a piece of the small but growing pie. One company last year forked over one million yuan to Chinese sex symbol and actress Gong Li to plug an air conditioner on television.

Outlawed as bourgeois until the start of China's reforms in 1978, advertising is becoming more sophisticated. Once-

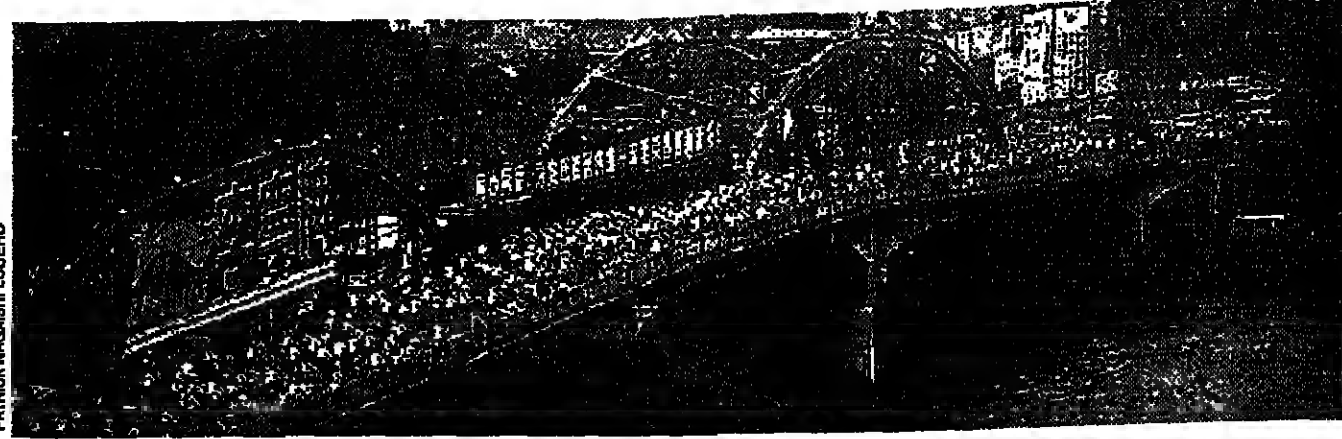
ny to enter China back in 1986. Much depends on the whims of Chinese bureaucrats at the state-controlled television networks and newspapers. "If they don't like you, they won't give you space," she says.

This is assuming, of course, that space is available. Demand is so high and advertising space so limited that companies may face a wait of a year or more to finally get their product before the public. Like anything in China, the wait depends on connections, or *guanxi*, within the Chinese system.

Another potential problem arises from Chinese demands that fees be paid in full before the advertisement is aired. Foreign companies have little recourse if their ad is bumped to another time slot on television or a different space in a newspaper.

Says Ms. Peng: "Clients are very reluctant to do this."

Pricing for advertising is also different for foreign companies, which in the Chinese capital are required to pay more than three times as much as their



The rise in living standards can only increase the already heavy demands on transportation infrastructure.

## FINANCING RAILROADS, HIGHWAYS, PORTS

TEN years into the process of economic liberalization in China, which most analysts now characterize as "irreversible," investment bankers in Hong Kong are in search of capital to build and rebuild China's transportation infrastructure. Through their pension funds, North Americans and Europeans will be financing a substantial portion of the most intensive campaign of road, bridge, port and rail building in history.

"This century shifted wealth from the private sector to governments," said Hong Kong developer Gordon Wu in an address to the American Chamber of Commerce. "During the 19th century, most infrastructure development was privately financed. Now that governments have 'wasted' the money, private-sector development of infrastructure is again necessary. This is proving to be true in China."

China's need is acute. According to the U.S. Embassy in Beijing, China's existing transportation infrastructure is capable of carrying only about 60 percent of demand. China's rail network is the smallest in the world, and is used three times more intensively than that of the United States. Yet rail remains China's lifeline, carrying 58 percent of the country's freight in 1991, compared

with 18 percent by road and 21 percent by water.

China's road network has grown only slightly since the 1950s, even though the freight it carries has risen 250-fold. According to the World Bank, if private vehicle ownership relative to population were equal to that of the United States, China would have 800 million vehicles and would need 28 million kilometers (17 million miles) of roads.

The 2,000 ships that call yearly at Shanghai typically languish for a day or longer in the turgid waters where the Yangtze spills into the sea, waiting for a position in the overburdened port.

China's State Planning Commission and Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation this year have taken the first steps in seeking foreign help with the country's transportation woes, circulating a list of 210 major transportation infrastructure projects.

To attract financing for these and other infrastructure opportunities throughout Asia, Peregrine Investment Holdings, a major investment banker in Hong Kong, launched the Asian Infrastructure Fund. At the end of a day of presentations to pension fund managers in San Francisco, an executive with the fund said: "I like transportation, but bankers

don't understand it very well yet. They look at all the problems with Gordon Wu's superhighway, but that's a specific case."

David Taylor of the American Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong confirms that American investment in transportation infra-

way project, however, has been plagued by delays and substandard work by Chinese contractors.

Even so, with daily traffic volume between Hong Kong and Guangzhou projected at 100,000 vehicles per day a decade from now, Mr. Wu stands to make a packet. Un-

Current infrastructure serves only 60 percent of demand

structure is still minor. "Americans are still wary of investing in long-term projects in China," he says.

Mr. Wu's company, Hopewell Holdings, is building a 188-mile system of six-lane superhighways linking Hong Kong and Macao to Guangzhou, the capital of Guangdong province. The province is the fastest-growing region in the world, registering 15 percent growth for the past three years. The superhigh-

der the terms of Hopewell's build-operate-transfer (BOT) arrangement, Hopewell will have an ownership interest in the highway and adjacent lands for 30 years, after which the assets will revert to its local government partners. BOT is, as one investor put it, "the flavor of the month."

"I think transportation infrastructure projects offer great prospects for sustainable long-term investments," says the fund executive. "One major advantage of transportation projects is that they require very few foreign components and, hence, little foreign currency. This is an especially important consideration in China's interior, where foreign currency reserves are small." Whitney Mason

Where billboards bloom, can celebrity endorsements be far behind? Beauty products in Shanghai and actress Gong Li, hawk of air conditioners.

lackluster television spots are being replaced by fast-paced, slick productions more reminiscent of those from China's capitalist neighbor to the south, Hong Kong. More than 30,000 Chinese companies have already entered the advertising fray.

Even with all the recent trumpeting of China's market of nearly 1.2 billion consumers, the ways and means of getting to them are still limited.

"It's a seller's market," explains Mary Peng, chief representative in Beijing for Dentsu, Young & Rubicam, the first major Western advertising compa-

local counterparts for a 30-second spot on television. Meanwhile, a new law barring advertisers from buying directly from the media has sparked protests from foreign agencies, who say that the move will only be detrimental to establishing a market system.

Still, overseas interests, lured by the estimated 600 million Chinese who tune in to watch television and the millions who read newspapers, are for the moment willing to pay the higher prices, which are still far cheaper than in the West.

William Brent



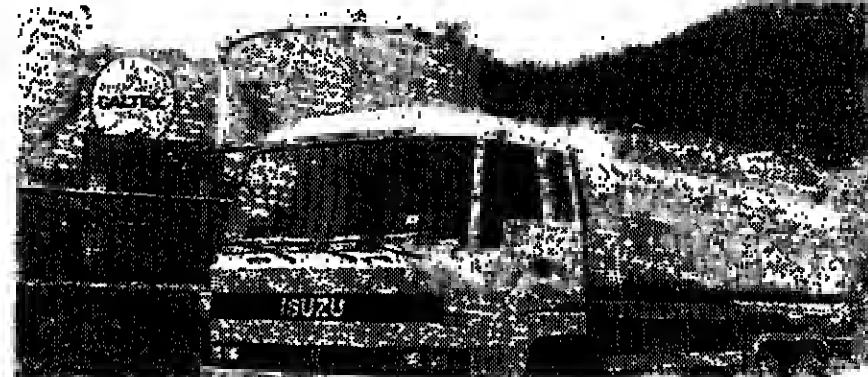
Chinese ideogram for Dalian means big link

We have a big link with China.

Dalian is also the name of a big industrial port in north-east China where the WEPEC Chinese consortium, in partnership with TOTAL, is building one of the most modern refineries in the Far-East - with a capacity of more than 100,000 barrels a day. TOTAL is an international oil and gas company, present in over 80 countries. Our activities cover all sectors of the oil and gas industry, from exploration, production and trading to refining and marketing of petroleum products and LPG. TOTAL is also involved in the specialty chemicals industry (rubber transformation, resins, inks and paints). The Dalian project is only one of TOTAL's international partnerships, demonstrating our commitment to the development of energy projects worldwide. TOTAL China, Beizhan Binguan, West Wing, 100044 Beijing. Tel: (86) 18 3147 01. Fax: (86) 18 31 55 87. TOTAL BY NAME. TOTAL BY NATURE.



## ENERGY-HUNGRY NATION REACHES FOR FOREIGN EXPERTISE



Western petroleum companies are helping China fuel its expanding economy with its own energy reserves.

CHINA has embarked on the world's largest energy modernization program, and foreign oil, engineering and power companies are rushing to help the country leap into the 21st century.

Even though China has the fourth-largest power industry in the world, per capita consumption is very low, ranking only 80th in the world, and 120 million Chinese have virtually no electricity. China's energy needs are rising by 10 percent a year, and the country will need \$25 billion in foreign investment in the next eight years to maintain its booming economic growth.

Fourteen power projects worth \$8.2 billion are already in the works, from the nuclear power sector to the thermal power industry, which is building three 300-1,300 megawatt plants with foreign investment in south China alone.

Perhaps the most ambitious of China's energy projects are those designed to harness the country's vast water system. With 2,000 years of dam-building experience, Chinese planners already have their eyes on an ambitious \$100 billion scheme to develop the Yangtze River region before the year 2000.

The centerpiece of that project is the Three Gorges Dam. Set for completion in the early 21st century, it will be the world's largest hydroelectric project, supplying power-starved central China with all its electricity needs.

Critics said a few years ago that the country could not afford the estimated \$18 billion price tag, and international financial institutions appeared loath to grant the financing needed. But now Merrill Lynch has offered to devise fi-

ancing for the project, and fierce competition has begun among foreign engineering giants such as Kumagai Gumi, Westinghouse and General Electric.

In the middle of an industrial revolution that will dwarf that of the 19th century, the earth's most populous nation needs prodigious amounts of foreign technology and capital - not to mention oil. The Middle Kingdom has vast quantities of untapped oil, much of it in the western region of Xinjiang.

Because most of that oil is still in the ground, China recently signed a contract to import 3.5 million tons of oil a year from Saudi Arabia, and this year will become a net importer of oil for the first time since 1949.

Caltex, the oil-refining joint venture between Texaco and Chevron, believes Western petroleum companies can help provide China with enough of its own oil resources to keep its fast-growing economy going. Edward H. Old, chairman of Caltex China, says he is confident that Beijing will overcome problems caused by transportation bottlenecks and underfinanced refineries.

"China will become one of the most prominent forces, and certainly the lead market for growth in the Asia-Pacific region," says Mr. Old. "Even if you assume that the growth rate drops substantially - and they have said they want it to drop to 9 percent - the energy demands will continue to grow much faster than in Europe and the United States."

Energy experts once thought of China as a country with vast natural energy resources but, given the low-tech, low-

income nature of its society, few possibilities for their use. But that was before 1978, when senior leader Deng Xiaoping launched an economic reform program that surpassed all expectations and swallowed much of those resources. While it remains the largest oil producer in Asia, with a record production of 145 million tons last year, China accounts for only 5 percent of world oil production, and this has not kept pace with industrial demand.

"It would have been difficult for anyone to have predicted the kind of growth China has had," says Mr. Old, who concedes that China has taken large steps to develop more of its own oil resources.

China's highest hopes are reserved for Xinjiang's oil-rich Tarim Basin, but after years of trying to develop the region themselves, Chinese officials have now opened the remote area to foreign oil companies. Texaco and four other foreign companies agreed in February to develop a portion of the Tarim despite skepticism over Chinese estimates that Tarim's reserves are larger than those of Alaska's Prudhoe Bay.

Another Western company evaluating exploration possibilities in regions like Tarim is Total, which has been present in China for 15 years. It began in exploration and production, and has more recently moved into industrial cooperation and refining. Total has a 20 percent interest in the construction and operation of a refining complex in Dalian, which will have a capacity of 100,000 barrels a day when it starts up in 1995.

Nick Driver

## PERSEVERANCE PAYS OFF

If Coca-Cola could get China's 1.2 billion people to drink one 1.25-liter bottle of soft drinks per week - less than the American average, but a long way from China's current average of two cans per year - the company would double its global annual sales of 10 billion cases. After investing decades of time and over \$100 million in China, Coca-Cola finally turned a profit in the challenging market in 1990. Perhaps more significantly, Coca-Cola's perseverance through the years is paying off in close cooperation with state authorities. The world's leading soft drink producer already has 13 bottling plants around the country, three of

which are state-owned. Last February, the company announced another \$150 million in international investment to build 10 more plants, most of them in China's thirsty interior. The company expects total investment in its China operations to reach \$500 million by 1996. Coca-Cola's share of the vast market is approximately 12 percent - more than twice that of its nearest international competitor - and signs emblazoned with the familiar Coca-Cola logo dominate streets where few Westerners have tread. One joint venture has even developed a fruit-flavored soda called Jinmeile especially for the mainland.

W.M.



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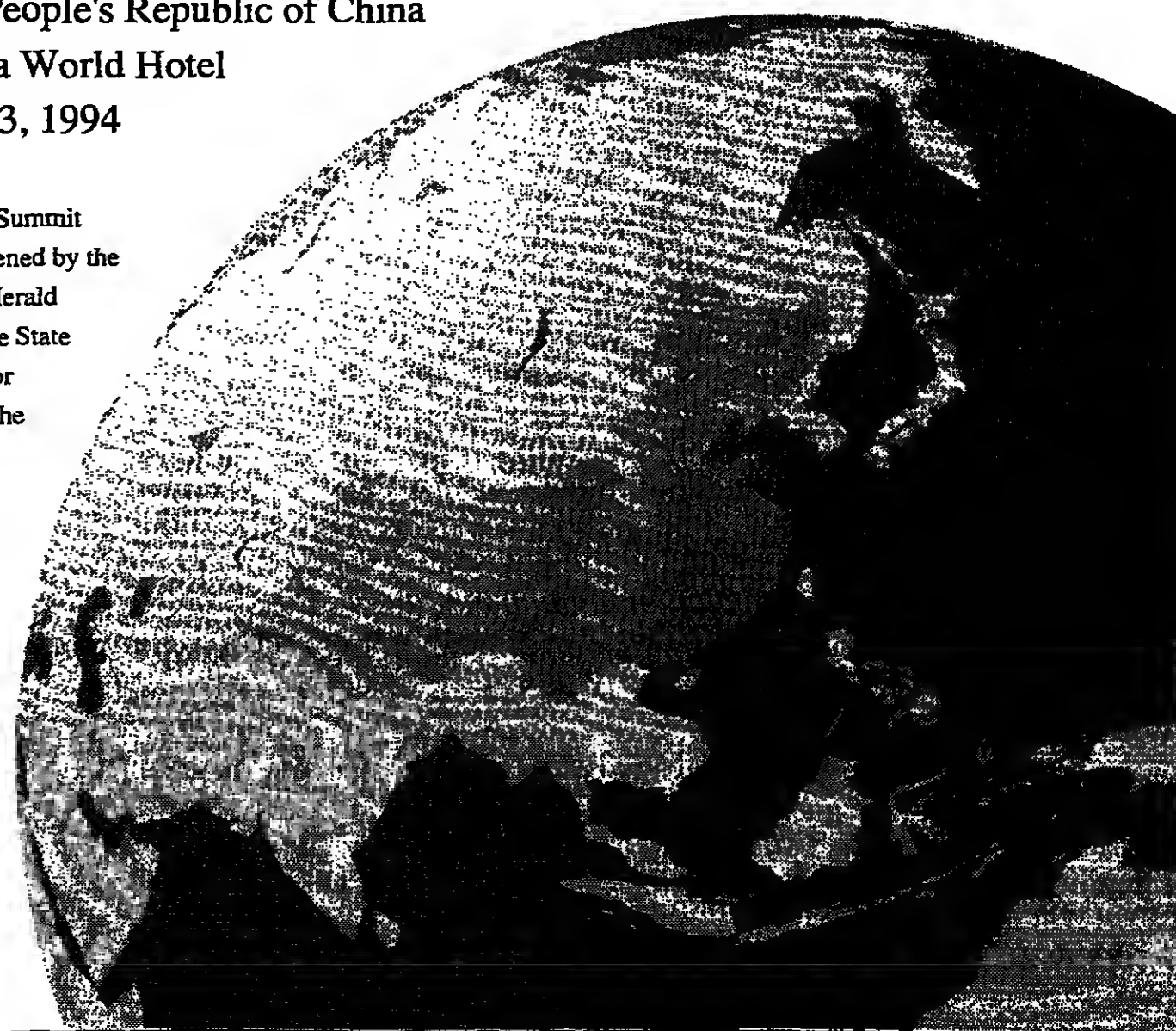
### THE 1994 CHINA SUMMIT MEETING:

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### THE SOCIALIST MARKET ECONOMY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, 1994-2000 IMPLICATIONS FOR GLOBAL BUSINESS

Beijing, People's Republic of China  
The China World Hotel  
May 11-13, 1994

An Economic Summit  
Meeting Convened by the  
International Herald  
Tribune and the State  
Commission for  
Restructuring the  
Economic  
Systems of the  
People's  
Republic of  
China





## ADVERTISING SECTION

## MAINLAND MARKETS EASE OPEN THEIR DOORS

THERE is increasing pressure in China to open a third official stock exchange. Some 22 major mainland companies are preparing to seek stock-market listings both in China and overseas, possibly including New York.

Tianjin, Wuhan and Shenyang are all vying for the exchange, which will supplement the work done by the exchanges in Shanghai and Shenzhen — even though Beijing has made it clear that the third exchange is unlikely to be set up this year.

Tianjin, like many other cities in China, already has a relatively well-developed financial-services center, with just over 200 members using computers to trade in state Treasury and corporate bonds as well as funds.

For the remainder of 1994, however, foreign investors will have to trade officially through one of the other two markets, which in practice means Shanghai.

While Shenzhen may be the center of

end of January, there were roughly five times more A- than B-shares, as well as an A-share mutual fund.

In the Shanghai market, total trading for 1993 reached 246 billion renminbi, or approximately \$28 billion at the swap exchange rate that prevailed at the end of last year. This was four and a half times the 1992 trading level of 54 billion renminbi.

The distinction between A- and B-shares, created partly because the renminbi is not yet fully convertible and partly because of the command-economy ethos of limiting foreign involvement, is under a great deal of pressure from both domestic and foreign traders. It will be some time before the merging of the two types of stock is possible, according to some sources in Shanghai.

According to press reports in Hong Kong, Hwang Guixian, a director with Shanghai Shenyin Securities, said that several other areas had to mature before any merging could be considered. He



Capital inflow is relieving the pressure on China's currency caused by the trade deficit.

## IN SEARCH OF A VIABLE EXCHANGE RATE

THE reforms enacted by the Chinese government on Jan. 1 this year, which abolished the effective two-tier currency exchange system, have been hailed by Hong Kong Bank, among others, as "the most important reform of China's foreign-exchange system since the 1985 decision to establish swap markets."

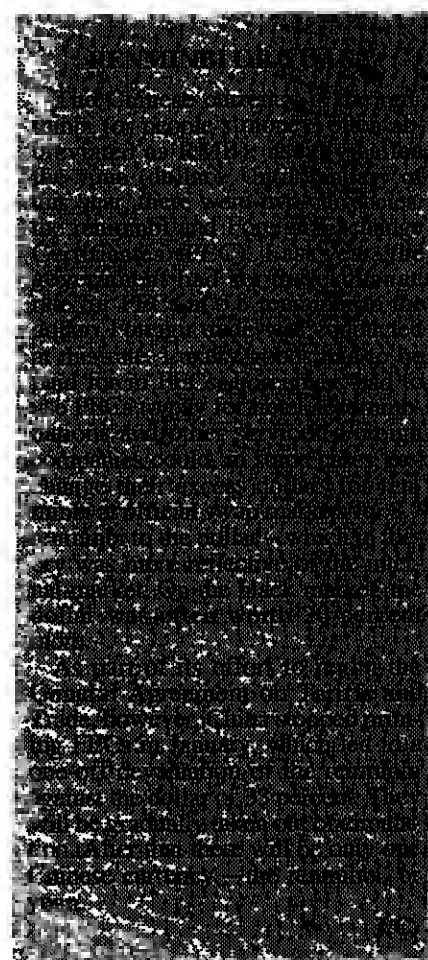
The reforms created a unified rate that is set daily by the People's Bank of China based on the market rate the day before. The bank gets that information from six of the major swap centers which, among them, handle more than 50 percent of transactions and are linked by a Shanghai-based computer network. It is the aim of Chinese officials eventually to link all the swap centers, thereby creating a truly national market.

April 1 had been set as a target date for this, but there are technical problems with the installation of the computer system, which may cause serious delays. The markets linked into the system will already have an estimated liquidity of over \$15 billion, according to press reports.

The system, based on supply and demand, is much nearer to international norms, an essential prerequisite of GATT membership — a major strategic goal of the Chinese leadership. The abolition of the two-tier system was comparable to a 33 percent devaluation of the renminbi, as well as what the Hong Kong Bank's China Briefing called "a useful first step toward full convertibility of the renminbi."

Despite the move's uncertain effect on China's trade, it signaled a clear intention by the leadership to reform the system.

There are still hurdles ahead, however, apart from any short-term confusion or initial adjustments. "Eventually, China can create a viable exchange rate for the renminbi, but there are a lot of pressures that it will have to deal with," says Ian Perkin, chief economist at the



Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce.

One he is quick to cite in this context is inflation. Currently running at 24 percent in the urban areas, although much lower in the rural areas, the effect of inflation is akin to devaluing the renminbi domestically, says Mr. Perkin. It could fuel momentum toward another devaluation, something to be avoided at all costs unless it signals a structural upgrading of the economy.

The balancing act that China must

bring off in both the short and long terms is expanding trade and liberalizing its economy without adding to pressures to devalue. The short-term objective must be to avoid devaluation pressures in the overheated cycle that the economy is in now.

It remains to be seen how much will be remembered from mid-1992 to mid-1993, when the swap centers showed significant renminbi devaluation. This was largely due to economic overheating, which was sucking in imports and diverting resources from exports.

The problem of import demand growing faster than export capacity is common to developing economies. While China's trade deficit is putting pressure on the currency, Mr. Perkin points out that "capital inflow is saving it."

He offers an illuminating statistic in regard to rebalancing the import-export equilibrium so important to heading off devaluation. "There is some \$140 billion worth of investment pledged for China, only \$27 billion of which has been used," he says.

What concerns many at the moment is not the unsuitableness of Chinese financial institutions for managing in a market-sensitive way the creation of a viable exchange rate. That, the conventional wisdom runs, will come with a fuller market economy and reform of the roles of the various banks — although that move is probably tied to some political timing.

The concern is rather the government's obsession with stabilizing the exchange rate at around 8.7 renminbi to the dollar, using methods such as selling reserves and tightening administrative control. Experts such as the Hong Kong Bank advise that it should focus instead on preventing sharp and sudden devaluations, and not use these devices to counter pressure for structural devaluation that will arise with the economy's maturation.

M.M.

A market in transition: Pre-capitalist transport at the Shanghai exchange; the modern Shenzhen trading floor.

China's economic boom, it is very much a poor cousin to the more traditional financial hub of Shanghai. It is also considerably overshadowed by the adjacent Hong Kong exchange, which has a much higher capitalization. This fact alone is influential in the number of Chinese companies seeking what is called an H-share listing there.

Confirming the prevalent view of Shenzhen as an immature or experimental market was the recent decision of the exchange to freeze listings of A-shares, i.e., those for sale exclusively to mainland Chinese, following a 40 percent decline in prices. B-shares are exclusively for foreign investors. By the

cited regulations, the legal framework for the country's work force and resource issues, particularly foreign exchange.

One company well-positioned to capitalize on the market is Peregrine, which has demonstrated considerable skill in helping China develop its economy. "We are a bridge between China and the outside world, having a long historical involvement and some good contacts there," says Francis Leun. Of Peregrine's strategy, he says: "We invest our own capital in China, help Chinese companies modernize and expand and help bring them to the public market." M.M.

### THE LEADING EDGE IN THE CHINA REGION



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**Hong Kong Land Ltd.**  
US\$110 million Convertible Bonds

**Lai Pung Overseas Finance Ltd.**  
US\$150 million Convertible Guaranteed Bonds

**Regal Hotels**  
US\$125 million Convertible Cumulative Preference Shares

**Sino Land Company Ltd.**  
US\$200 million Convertible Bonds

**Sun Hung Kai Properties Ltd.**  
US\$100 million Floating Rate Notes

**China International Marine Containers Ltd.**  
Placing US\$190 million "B" Shares

**China Merchants Shekou Port Service Co. Ltd.**  
New issue US\$100 million "B" Shares

**Shanghai Jin Jiang Tower Co. Ltd.**  
Placing US\$14 million "B" Shares

**Shanghai Jingliao Export Processing Zone Development Co. Ltd.**  
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David Hsu  
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Fax: (862) 702-4700

**Shanghai**  
John Crossman  
Tel: (8621) 219-1277  
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### STEERING THE COURSE OF GROWTH

Continued from page 11

"Then, after they had laid the political groundwork with the statements and in the NPC, they launched an austerity program at mid-year," Mr. Chan says.

A number of economists expect a replay of 1993's austerity program. "Li Peng is talking about 9 percent growth and getting inflation down," says Ian Perkin, chief economist at the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce. "That's unrealistic without a clampdown."

As last year, economists say, China would have to use administrative fiat to curb growth because market-oriented macroeconomic controls introduced early this year are not effective enough yet.

Last year's credit squeeze pulled industrial production down from 27.6 percent year-on-year growth in the second quarter to 16.4 percent in October.

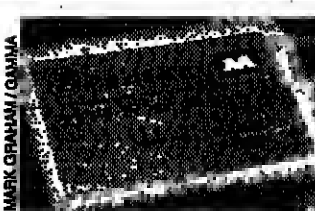
As the politically power-

ful state-owned sector ran short of working capital, China had to relax austerity measures in the fall. Industrial output growth jumped to 29.8 percent in December. Another mid-year, temporary cutback in credit would benefit some foreign investors.

"If you use foreign capital for a project, you can get very good terms," says Richard Wong, director of the Hong Kong Center for Economics Research.

On the other hand, foreign retail operations in China and foreign exports to China will likely suffer. Manufacturers who rely on domestic suppliers and markets will find that even foreign funding will not totally insulate them from harm. A widespread shortage of working capital will mean that many suppliers will have to cancel or curtail shipments, and end-users will not be able to pay for products.

Last year's credit squeeze did not bring down the over-



all rates of GDP growth or inflation. It did stabilize the renminbi, however, and curtailed diversion of funds to speculation in real estate, stocks and foreign exchange.

This year's attempt to slow down economic growth will probably result in "more or less a soft landing," says Vincent Chan, senior economist at Peregrine Brokerage. The 9 percent goal for GDP growth is reasonable, he says. "The key is growth in investment in fixed assets. The target is 10 percent. I think it will be 16 percent, compared to 50 percent last year."

Fixed-asset growth figures for the first few months of 1994 will be crucial, according to Mr. Chan. Lower in-

As the economy evolves, so must financial instruments and banking technology.

vestment will not get inflation to the NPC target of below 10 percent, but should push it down two percentage points to 12.5 percent for the year, he says.

He is also optimistic that China can cope with its growing trade deficit. After several years of surpluses, China suffered a \$12.2-billion shortfall last year, which some experts say threatens China's foreign-exchange reserves.

According to Mr. Chan, the deficit is likely to continue, but he says the current surge in imports is not a major problem because much of it consists of equipment and industrial materials going to rapidly growing ventures with foreign investment.

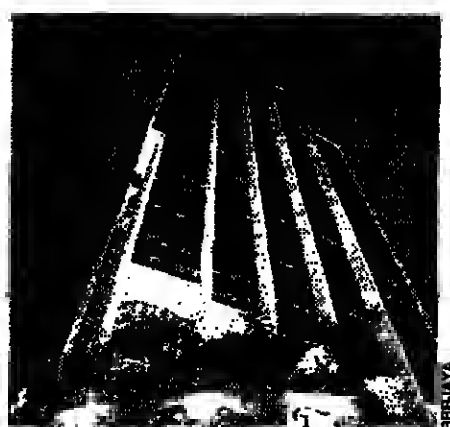
G.L.

### MALAYSIAN FIRM'S MULTI-FACETED APPROACH

THEIR company name means "success," and Berjaya Group Bhd. of Malaysia is wasting no time in pushing ahead with ambitious plans for China.

With assets totaling over \$2.1 billion and an annual turnover of \$800 million, Berjaya is a publicly listed Malaysian conglomerate. Vincent Tan, its chief executive officer, who took over the company in 1984, has transformed the group from a steel-wire producer to a widely diversified group. Berjaya has adopted a policy of establishing business opportunities and growth through joint ventures and alliances, and has expanded its business in China as well as in Hong Kong, the Philippines, South America and the United States.

Having opened an office in Beijing only in late 1992, Ber-



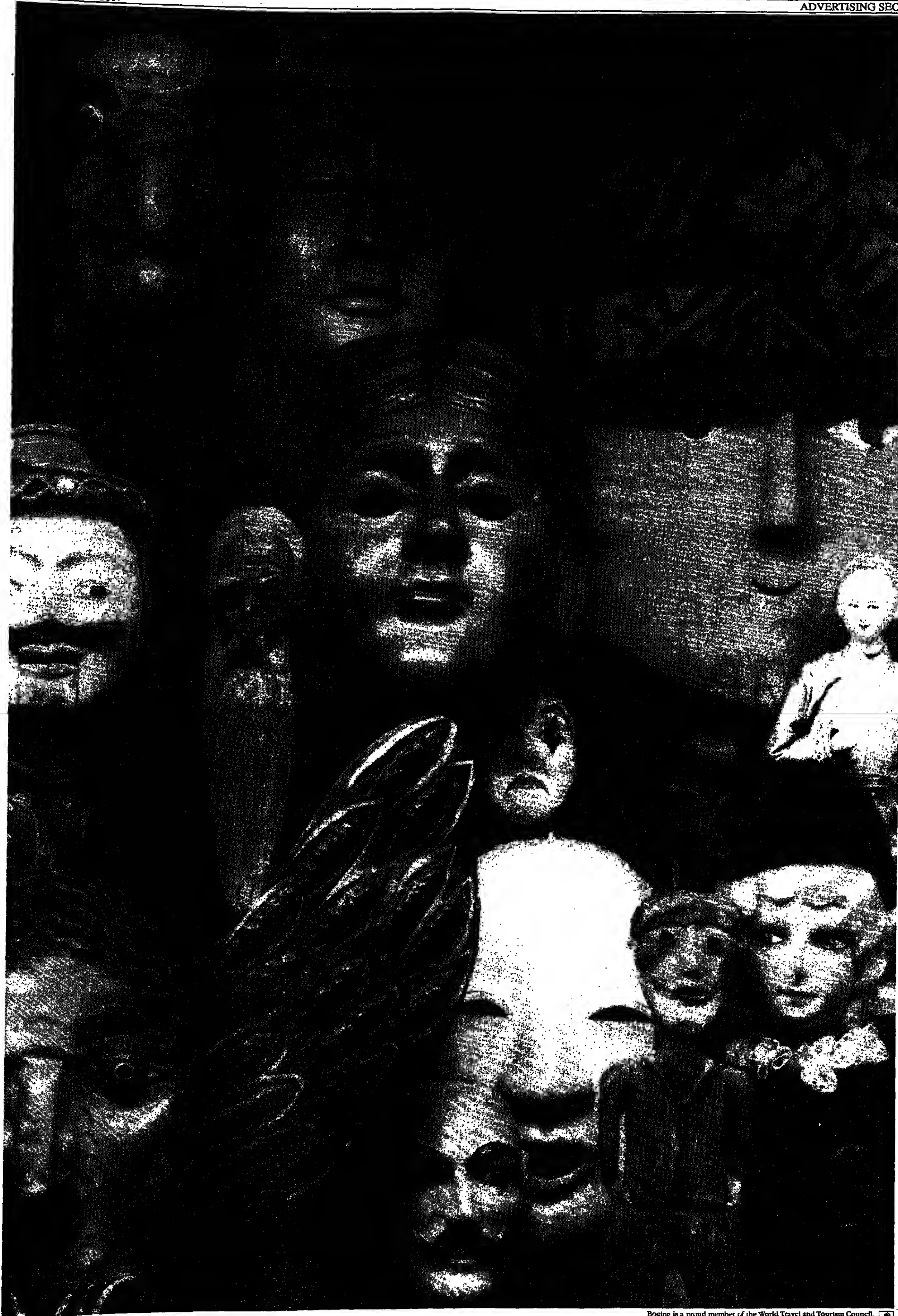
jaya was a relative latecomer to the Chinese market. In less than two years, it has committed itself to projects around the country in areas including infrastructure, property and real-estate development, social welfare, industry and recreation.

Berjaya's joint-venture projects and plans include constructing a second bridge in Nanjing spanning the Yangtze River, developing land in Shanghai's Pudong development zone, building a golf course in Shenyang and running a printing company in Beijing and a rubber powder plant in Qinhuaodao.

The company will be exploring additional possibilities and looking for more investment opportunities in China.

W.B.





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## ADVERTISING SECTION

TELECOMMUNICATIONS  
GETS A WAKE-UP CALL

With the recent ending of its monopoly on telecommunications, China has given foreign companies a glimpse of new horizons in a market that is already the most promising in the world.

China expects to spend about \$6 billion this year alone on telecommunications, an astounding pace of development. New telephones installed this year will total 9 million, nearly double last year's figure, and the target by the year 2000 is 65 million, which would bring telephones to five of every 100 Chinese. More than 100 million lines will also be in place by the end of the century and about four times that by 2020, which would make China's the world's largest telephone system. The new switching systems will be program-controlled and digital. China plans to lay down 32,000 kilometers of fiber-optic cables between major cities by 1995. Cables will also link China to Japan and South Korea.

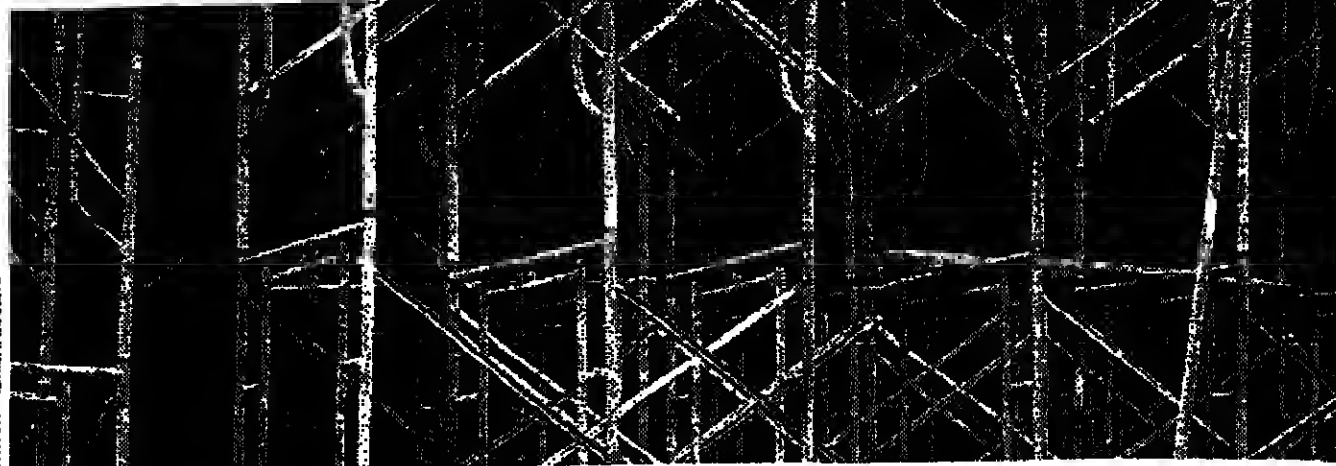
vides service and sets regulations, last year banned foreign companies from investing in, operating or taking part in the operation of China's telecommunications services. Despite the reiteration of the ban several times and the scuttling of several deals, most analysts say it is just a matter of time before it is lifted. "There's a good chance it will be lifted, say within the next five years or so," says Michael Ricks, vice president for business development at Ericsson Telecommunications China.

In a country where political controls are still tight, steps have also been taken to prevent the average Chinese from joining the information superhighway that the new telecommunication advances have brought. Private ownership of satellite dishes was banned last year, and subscription to international information networks is also restricted. As in the prohibition of foreign equity investment, most analysts believe restrictions on flow of information will become increasingly hard to enforce with the growth of the non-state sectors in China's economy.

In a market with such vast growth potential, no one seems particularly upset by these minor distractions. Sweden's Ericsson, for example, registered sales of some \$500 million in China last year, making China one of its top five markets in the world. "It's one of our biggest markets, and it's become one quite rapidly," says Mr. Ricks. Meanwhile, competitors like Siemens, Alcatel and NEC have also carved out substantial pieces of the Chinese switching system market. Motorola has dominated the cellular telephone and pager market, although competition is becoming stiffer. AT&T has recently taken steps to increase its market share. W.B.

Vying for the cellular market.

Naturally, the telecommunications boom has attracted all the world's major players, but some restrictions remain in force. The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, which pro-



A forest of scaffolding cannot obscure lingering tight regulations on construction.

## REAL ESTATE: NOT TOO HOT TO HANDLE

The Chinese real-estate market is starting to bounce back after last summer's politically inspired cool-down. This presents good opportunities for foreign investors, experts say, though they warn that the fledgling market still poses problems for the unwary investor.

Real estate and construction were strongly affected by economics czar Zhu Rongji's 16-point austerity plan last July, which was designed to slow an economy on the verge of overheating. Loans to developers were restricted, certain speculative property ventures at the luxury end of the market were canceled and some 100

million yuan (\$11.5 billion) in unauthorized loans to property developers was recalled.

The result was a turnaround, with land prices falling up to 30 percent in some regions in the second half of 1993. Coupled as this was with a 10 percent drop in commercial property investment, the market started to look favorable to foreign investors once prices started to right themselves.

Some experts in the property field, such as Dominic Leung, head of the China services division at Richard Ellis in Hong Kong, view these measures as a good thing, arguing that they are necessary for the regulation of the industry. Mr. Leung points out that by sealing off domestic finances, "new opportunities were made available on schemes planned that were short of funds."

As is often the case in China, the key is the right joint-venture partner. "It depends on where you are from, the financial muscle you have and the connections," says Mr. Leung.

One hurdle still to be overcome is that no non-Chinese national can own property via a freehold arrangement. Leaseholds are the norm. These cannot exceed 50 years, except in the

residential sector, where 70-year leaseholds are usual.

A related problem affecting the sector is the degree of state control it is still subject to. C.N. Brooke, senior partner in the Hong Kong property brokerage Brooke

Leung calls "still pretty unsophisticated," is without return. Not only can it benefit from Western expertise, but there is a fast-growing demand for all types of commercial premises.

Mr. Leung sums up the

Rents have  
doubled twice in  
Beijing in 18 months

Hillier and Parker, summed it up best when he said in a speech to Hong Kong in March: "Amidst a confusion or absence of regulations, the central and provincial governments have made several attempts to regain control of the property sector — and of its financial awards."

There is also draconian legislation of the construction industry in regard to plot ratios and zoning. "There are a lot of restrictions, more than in Hong Kong," says Mr. Leung.

This does not mean that the market, which Mr. Le-

supply side of the equation for China in three words: "There isn't any."

His advice, which is also offered by other property experts, is to avoid the regional fragmentation of the national market and to concentrate on prime sites.

This means avoiding or deferring getting on the real-estate bandwagon in secondary locations such as Wuhan, Nanjing, Chengdu and Shenyang. "Big cities and prime products that will hold their value even if the market hiccups" are to be preferred, says Mr. Leung.

Geographically, this means Beijing, where office rents have doubled twice in the past 18 months, Shanghai, Guangzhou and the Pearl River Delta, particularly the town of Shenzhen. M.M.

# THE MOST IMPORTANT BUSINESS MEETING EVER ORGANIZED IN CHINA.

The International Herald Tribune and the State Commission for Restructuring the Economic Systems of the People's Republic of China have invited the world's business leaders to an unprecedented summit meeting on China's socialist market economy. Its aim is to foster a dialogue at the highest levels amongst the leaders of the Chinese government and the global business community. The Summit, "The Socialist Market Economy of the People's Republic of China: Cooperation with Global Business," will be held in Beijing on May 11th and 12th of this year.

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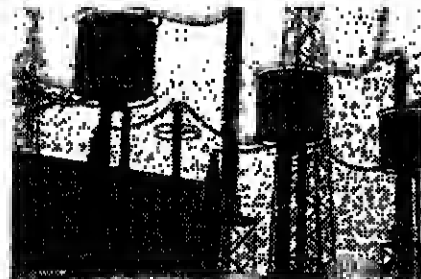
## ELECTRIFYING THE MAINLAND

DESPITE China's fast-growing economy, factories in the booming coastal regions are forced to operate at 75 percent of capacity because of a dearth of electrical power.

"China is the largest market for power generation in the world," says Alexis Fries, top executive in the Asia-Pacific region for electrical engineering giant ABB Asea Brown Boveri. "Just in order not to lose further ground, China has to add 15,000 megawatts a year — that's equivalent to electrifying Switzerland — every year."

ABB's relationship with China can be traced back to 1907, when it supplied the country's first steam boiler. The Zurich-based group has had an office in Beijing since the late 1970s.

In the last few years, ABB has stepped up its operations in China, building six power generation plants of various types from



Harbin to Guangdong. It has also set up six industrial-service joint ventures.

For the immediate future, ABB aims to build two power plants per year. The plants will average 1.2 gigawatts, double the capacity of plants built in the last few years.

The next step for ABB is to replace imported components, which drain scarce foreign-currency reserves, with parts manufactured in-country.

ABB is having little trouble finding financing for its projects in China, according to Mr. Fries. "Infrastructure investments have been a discovery for overseas Chinese," he says. "Energy infrastructure investments offer the benefits of stable demand, steady cash flow and flexible options. Moreover, power generation is an essential prerequisite for any other industrial development." W.M.

## FLEETS, TECHNOLOGY, SECURITY

Continued from page 11

ers Boeing will produce in 1994, or 36 airplanes, will go to this market. Boeing also helped launch an aircraft maintenance course in Tianjin, where graduates study for U.S. Federal Aviation Administration exams. In addition, Boeing assisted China Southern Airlines in setting up an FAA-approved flight-training center in Zhuhai, near Macao.

The French-based European consortium Airbus Industrie has set up Airbus Industrie China to handle various commercial, industrial and product-support activities.

The company will set up a service support center and a flight-training center with modern flight simulators in Beijing.

Airbus already provides regular technical assistance at three major Chinese airlines' maintenance bases.

Hong Kong's Cathay Pacific Airways has responded to China's appeal for help with airline management training. In March, the airline signed an agreement with the China National Aviation Corp. to provide

free on-the-job training and seminars.

Under the agreement, middle and senior management from China's many airlines will be seconded to Cathay headquarters for six-month stints. There they will learn revenue management, scheduling, flight operations, marketing, scheduling, staff training and development as well as passenger and cargo operations.

Jim Eckes, Hong Kong-based managing director of the aircraft consulting and leasing firm Indoswiss Aviation Ltd., sees excellent opportunities for Western companies in China.

One area is in short-term joint ventures or management contracts with Chinese airlines, especially the new, smaller carriers.

"A lot of cities and provinces feel neglected by the big airlines and want to start up their own carriers," he says. "They may have to bring in a foreign airline for financial or managerial assistance."

Help will be needed in reservations systems as well. "The airlines already have the airplanes and full flights, but the reservations systems

are inefficient. I'm not certain when they will focus on this, but they will have to," he says.

Major overseas airlines are reported to be marketing their reservations systems in China now. According to Hong Kong-based executive David Solloway of United Airlines, "There is a mind-boggling potential for CRS [computer reservations systems] in China."

China's growing airlines need Western technology and systems to handle the growing traffic, he says. China Southern Airlines has already asked the U.S. carrier for a computer so it can plug its international reservations office in Guangzhou into United's Apollo system.

Security expertise provides another opening for Western companies. In March, a team from the U.S. company Aviation Defense International was invited to look at Beijing Airport. ADI trains personnel in perimeter security, access control, passenger checks and documentation checks. Security hardware companies have also been involved in talks with Beijing.

Garry Marchant



# Olajuwon in Foul Trouble, Maxwell Boosts Rockets

Heat lost all three games in Miami this season.

to get a postseason berth. They trail the Pacers and Nets by four games and the Heat by 4½.

[illegible]

At least 23 people were arrested

(Reuters, AP, NYT)

[illegible]



# MONDAY SPORTS

## SCOREBOARD

### BASEBALL

#### Major League Standings

(Through Saturday)

#### AMERICAN LEAGUE

##### East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
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Boston	4	1	.800	0
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Toronto	3	2	.600	1
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Baltimore	3	2	.600	1
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New York	3	2	.600	1
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Detroit	2	3	.400	2
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##### Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
------	---	---	------	----

Cleveland	3	0	1.000	0
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Minnesota	3	0	1.000	0
-----------	---	---	-------	---

Kansas City	1	4	.200	3
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##### West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
------	---	---	------	----

California	2	2	.500	0
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Oakland	2	2	.500	0
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Texas	1	3	.250	1
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Seattle	0	4	.000	2
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#### NATIONAL LEAGUE

##### East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
------	---	---	------	----

Atlanta	4	1	.800	0
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New York	3	2	.600	1
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Philadelphia	3	2	.600	1
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Montreal	2	3	.400	2
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Florida	1	4	.200	3
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##### Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
------	---	---	------	----

Cincinnati	3	1	.750	0
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St. Louis	2	2	.500	1
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Chicago	2	2	.500	1
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Houston	2	2	.500	1
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Pittsburgh	1	3	.250	2
------------	---	---	------	---

##### West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
------	---	---	------	----

San Francisco	4	1	.800	0
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Los Angeles	3	2	.600	1
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Colorado	2	2	.500	1
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San Diego	1	3	.250	2
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#### Friday's Line Scores

##### AMERICAN LEAGUE

Team	Score	Opponent
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Cleveland	3-0	Minnesota
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Kansas City	3-0	Chicago
-------------	-----	---------

New York	3-2	Philadelphia
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Baltimore	3-2	Detroit
-----------	-----	---------

Chicago	3-0	Minnesota
---------	-----	-----------

Seattle	3-0	California
---------	-----	------------

Toronto	3-2	Oakland
---------	-----	---------

Los Angeles	3-2	San Francisco
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
-----------	-----	----------

Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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San Francisco	3-2	Los Angeles
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
-----------	-----	----------

Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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San Francisco	3-2	Los Angeles
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
-----------	-----	----------

Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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San Francisco	3-2	Los Angeles
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
-----------	-----	----------

Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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San Francisco	3-2	Los Angeles
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
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Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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San Francisco	3-2	Los Angeles
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
-----------	-----	----------

Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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San Francisco	3-2	Los Angeles
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
-----------	-----	----------

Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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### BASEBALL

#### Major League Standings

(Through Saturday)

#### AMERICAN LEAGUE

##### East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
------	---	---	------	----

Boston	4	1	.800	0
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Toronto	3	2	.600	1
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Baltimore	3	2	.600	1
-----------	---	---	------	---

New York	3	2	.600	1
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Detroit	2	3	.400	2
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##### Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
------	---	---	------	----

Cleveland	3	0	1.000	0
-----------	---	---	-------	---

Minnesota	3	0	1.000	0
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Kansas City	1	4	.200	3
-------------	---	---	------	---

##### West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
------	---	---	------	----

California	2	2	.500	0
------------	---	---	------	---

Oakland	2	2	.500	0
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Texas	1	3	.250	1
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Seattle	0	4	.000	2
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#### NATIONAL LEAGUE

##### East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
------	---	---	------	----

Atlanta	4	1	.800	0
---------	---	---	------	---

New York	3	2	.600	1
----------	---	---	------	---

Philadelphia	3	2	.600	1
--------------	---	---	------	---

Montreal	2	3	.400	2
----------	---	---	------	---

Florida	1	4	.200	3
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##### Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
------	---	---	------	----

Cincinnati	3	1	.750	0
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St. Louis	2	2	.500	1
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Chicago	2	2	.500	1
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Houston	2	2	.500	1
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Pittsburgh	1	3	.250	2
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##### West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
------	---	---	------	----

San Francisco	4	1	.800	0
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Los Angeles	3	2	.600	1
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Colorado	2	2	.500	1
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San Diego	1	3	.250	2
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#### Friday's Line Scores

##### AMERICAN LEAGUE

Team	Score	Opponent
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Cleveland	3-0	Minnesota
-----------	-----	-----------

Kansas City	3-0	Chicago
-------------	-----	---------

New York	3-2	Philadelphia
----------	-----	--------------

Baltimore	3-2	Detroit
-----------	-----	---------

Chicago	3-0	Minnesota
---------	-----	-----------

Seattle	3-0	California
---------	-----	------------

Toronto	3-2	Oakland
---------	-----	---------

Los Angeles	3-2	San Francisco
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
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Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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San Francisco	3-2	Los Angeles
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
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Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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San Francisco	3-2	Los Angeles
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
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Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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San Francisco	3-2	Los Angeles
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
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Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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San Francisco	3-2	Los Angeles
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
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Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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San Francisco	3-2	Los Angeles
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
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Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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San Francisco	3-2	Los Angeles
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San Diego	3-0	Colorado
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Philadelphia	3-2	New York
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Atlanta	3-2	Montreal
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St. Louis	3-2	Chicago
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